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MISNAIC HEBREW  
AND ITS RELATION TO BIBLICAL  
HEBREW AND TO ARAMAIC  
A GRAMMATICAL STUDY

BY THE

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# MISNAIC HEBREW

AND ITS RELATION TO

BIBLICAL HEBREW AND TO ARAMAIC.



By Mišnaic Hebrew (MH.) we understand the idiom in which was composed the Halakic and Haggadic literature of the Jews from c. 200 B. C. to 200 A. C., i. e. from Simon the Just down to the first generation of the Amoraim. This literature comprises first and foremost the *Mišna* (edited in its present form c. 150 A. C.), and its companions the *Tosefta*, *Aboth d'R. Nathan* and the *Masektoth Ketanoth*; the *Midrašim*: *Mekilta*, *Sifra*, *Sifré* and *Seder 'Olam*; further, the Hebrew portions of the *Gemaroth* and of the exclusively Haggadic *Midrašim*, and a number of minor works which, though very late in their present forms, contain nevertheless elements which go back to the Mišnaic period. The term Mišna (מִשְׁנָה), used in this connexion, must be understood in that wider sense which includes all the earlier Rabbinic literature as distinguished from the Scriptures (מִקְרָא)<sup>1</sup>. This name Mišnaic Hebrew is preferable to the term New Hebrew (*Neuhebräisch*) by which the idiom is commonly known. It has the merit of being free from any ambiguity. The latter is appropriate enough in relation to Biblical Hebrew (BH.), but it either ignores

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bacher, *Terminologie*, p. 34 and n. 2, pp. 122 f., 194.

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the later phases through which, after the Talmudic period, the Hebrew language passed, or confuses them<sup>1</sup> with that particular stage of its development with which we are now concerned.

Paitanic Hebrew<sup>2</sup>, mediaeval Hebrew of the Hispano-Arabie school, and Modern Hebrew (beginning with R. Moses Haim Luzzatto, 1710-50)<sup>3</sup> may have little or no value to the philological student as such<sup>4</sup>, but they are certainly not without their linguistic interest. In any case the existence of these idioms is a fact. To ignore them in studying the history of the Hebrew language would be unscientific. It is therefore important that every one of the varied idioms of the language at whatever period it appeared should be distinguished by an appropriate and precise designation.

The grammatical treatment of MH. has been scanty and fragmentary. The first pioneer work was Geiger's little *Lehrbuch*, which, in spite of many serious defects, still remains the best work on the subject. Unfortunately it does not go far enough. Leopold Dukes' book *Die Sprache der Mischna* (Esslingen, 1846) is of little value. Far better is Weiss's learned and suggestive work, *משפט לשון המסנה* (Vienna, 1867). But Weiss, eminent though he was as a Talmudist, was not a trained philologist or grammarian, and hence his judgment was not always what it should be, especially where he applied Rabbinical dialectics to the elucidation of questions of etymology. The arrangement of the work and its technical language are also crude and primitive. More methodical and fuller in the grammatical side is Siegfried and Strack's *MH. Grammatik*. But their work is vitiated by the admission of many Talmudic and even mediaeval forms, by the failure of the authors to distinguish between MH. and Aramaic or semi-Aramaic

<sup>1</sup> As is done by Siegfried and Strack in their *Grammatik*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie d. Mittelalters*, pp. 117 ff., 372 ff.

<sup>3</sup> N. Slouschz, *La renaissance de la littérature hébraïque*, Paris, 1903.

<sup>4</sup> Nöldeke, *Encyc. Brit.*<sup>2</sup>, vol. XXI, p. 646.

forms and phrases, and by a number of other inaccuracies. Useful material has also been collected by S. Stein in his dissertation *Das Verbum in der Mischnasprache* (Berlin, 1888) and by F. Hillel in *Nominalbildung in der Mischna* (Berlin, 1891). Scattered notices of MH. forms are also found in Barth's *Nominalbildung*.

On the lexical side, too, much still remains to be done. The elucidation and derivation of words have indeed been performed worthily and with adequacy in the well-known lexicons, notable among which are: Kohut's prolix but monumental edition of R. Nathan's *Aruch*, Jacob Levy's great and useful *NH. Wörterbuch*, and the more recent "Dictionary" by Marcus Jastrow<sup>1</sup> (the only work on the subject in the English language). But no systematic attempt has yet been made to distinguish the Hebraic elements in the vocabulary of MH. from the Aramaic, and to trace their history and development both in form and meaning.

As to the nature of MH. and its connexion with BH. on the one side and with Aramaic on the other, great diversity of opinion prevails among scholars. Geiger<sup>2</sup> regards it as a purely artificial and mechanical creation of the Schoolmen, comparing it to the Latin of the Middle Ages. He goes so far as to trace some of its forms to false exegesis<sup>3</sup>. Siegfried and Strack hold the same view (p. 5), though they frequently point out the connexion of MH. forms with the corresponding forms in BH. Lector M. Friedmann holds that MH. is nothing but a Hebraized

<sup>1</sup> The services of this scholar to Semitic philology have not yet received the recognition which they richly deserve. For though many of his etymologies may be fanciful and far-fetched, he has nevertheless succeeded in restoring to the Semitic vocabulary a large number of words hitherto held to be of foreign derivation, and, in the case of many others, in at least reopening the question of their etymology for further discussion.

<sup>2</sup> So already Salomon Levysohn in his introductory essay *באמר על דקדוק* כמספר של רמב"ם, printed in the Warsaw edition of the *Mišna* (1879).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. his explanation of *לֹא בִי*, of *אֲשֶׁה*, of *בָּרַר*, p. 24.

Aramaic. According to his theory, MH. was, so to say, manufactured by the Rabbis after the fall of Bar Kokba, who for national and religious reasons had become hostile to Aramaic, now completely christianized; and in order to spread this new-fangled dialect among the people they had composed<sup>1</sup> in it Midrašic commentaries on the Bible, tales, legends, &c., thus creating the Rabbinic literature through which MH. gained currency among the mass of Jews (*Onkelos und Akylas*, Wien, 1896, p. 86 ff.). With this G. Dalman agrees, at least as far as the character of the idiom is concerned (*Gram. d. Jüd.-Pal. Aram.*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1905, p. 10, § 6).

Geiger's view is stoutly contested by Graetz (*Litteraturblatt d. Orients*, 1844, col. 824 ff.). He asserts that MH. was a living language spoken by the Jews in Hasmonean times, and that it was, moreover, the natural and direct development of BH. This, practically, is also the opinion of S. D. Luzzato (*ibid.*, 1846, col. 830 ff.) and of Jacob Levy who regards MH. as a popular and corrupted form of BH. (*ibid.*, 1844, col. 812)<sup>2</sup>. The genuine character of MH. has been defended more recently by M. Israel Lévi, who adduces the wealth of MH. words and expressions connected with secular occupations and with matters of general daily life as evidence of its having been the ordinary language of everyday life (*Ecclésiastique*, Introd., p. xxii). So also M. Grünbaum (*Z. D. M. G.*, XXXIX, p. 592 f., and *Sem. Studies in Memory of Kohut*, p. 232 f.), Dr. Wijnkoop (*J. Q. R.*, XV, p. 23 ff.), and Prof. W. Bacher in his article 'Hebrew Language' in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*.

Nöldeke seems to occupy an intermediate position. He holds that MH. was a genuine survival of classical Hebrew which, however, was preserved only artificially by the schoolmen whose ordinary and natural language was Aramaic (l. c., and *Die Semitischen Sprachen*, 2nd ed.,

<sup>1</sup> To be precise, one would have to add "and translated," as a great part of this literature originated much earlier than that age.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Maimonides to *Terumoth*, I, 1.

p. 21 f.). He is followed by Brockelmann in his new *Comparative Grammar*, p. 9 f.

On the other hand, Weiss (p. 2) grants that MH. was used as a medium of speech by the ordinary people, but nevertheless treats it almost throughout his book as an artificial scholastic idiom.

In order to facilitate its solution it will be useful to state the problem more fully, and to indicate the real questions at issue. On perusing any ordinary chapter of the Mišna the reader is at once struck by many peculiarities in vocabulary, grammar, style and diction. He will meet with a large number of words which are unknown in BH. but common in Aramaic. Again, a number of words which occur both in BH. and in Aram., but are used in the latter in a different sense, will be found in MH. in the Aram. sense. Many genuine BH. words are used in MH. in an entirely new connotation. The reader will also meet with a large number of technical words and phrases which are quite unknown in BH. Then as to grammar, he will find forms which in BH. occur but sporadically, and are therefore termed by grammarians "irregular," constituting in MH. the usual and normal type, and again forms and constructions which are entirely novel and without parallel in BH. but are common in Aramaic. The diction will appear as unlike ordinary Hebrew style as can be. Many familiar idioms and constructions, without which good Hebrew prose is inconceivable, are here entirely absent, while at every step the reader stumbles upon usages, phrases, and turns of speech which strike him as strange and almost barbarous. And yet he feels all the time that he is reading Hebrew and not Aramaic; that though the influence of the latter is perceptible at every step, it is yet not the predominant factor, but is, on the contrary, everywhere subjected to the Hebrew and made to accommodate itself to it and to subserve it.

Now is this idiom a genuine and natural Hebrew speech only coloured and disfigured by Aram. influence, or is it

merely a mechanical and artificial mongrel production of Hebrew and Aram. combined, in which Aram., though the natural and life-giving element, has been forcibly and mechanically subordinated to the artificial and lifeless Hebrew element? Would Hebrew, if left alone, have developed grammatically and syntactically on much the same lines as our MH. shows, and has the overpowering influence of Aram. merely intensified and hastened that development and in some cases directed it into certain channels; or would the development of Hebrew, if unchecked, never have been capable of proceeding on such lines as to produce something similar to MH., the latter therefore being not a genuine product of BH. but an artificial creation consisting of a clumsy intermixture of dead Hebrew with the living Aram., which is neither the one nor the other? It is evident that these questions cannot be settled satisfactorily and scientifically except by a thoroughgoing study of the grammatical phenomena presented by MH., and by a comparison of these phenomena with the corresponding forms and constructions in BH., especially those of a later period, and also with those of Semitic languages other than Aramaic. It is only by such a method that we can ascertain whether the linguistic phenomena of MH. are natural to it or merely artificial; whether those peculiarities which it shares with Aram. are its own or merely borrowed from its more powerful rival. For the dissimilarity in style, however striking, between MH. and BH. cannot be adduced as evidence against the genuine Hebraic character of the Mišnaic idiom, any more than the parallel dissimilarity existing between Old English, for example, and Modern English can be adduced against the claim of the latter to be the direct lineal descendant of the former; especially if we consider the profound and far-reaching differences in the surroundings and historical circumstances of the Jews of the Mišnaic period and those of Biblical times. Some part of this dissimilarity must also be ascribed to the general

differences in the character of the subjects treated of in the Bible and in the Mišna respectively. Nor should too much importance be attached to the differences in vocabulary between MH. and BH. Words, too, are subject to the inexorable laws which govern the existence of all organic beings. They, too, become old, often prematurely, and die without leaving any issue. They, too, are compelled to carry on an incessant struggle for existence in which the weaker go to the wall, and often disappear entirely without leaving any trace behind them. Moreover, new circumstances produce new needs and new ideas, and to express them new words and new phrases have to be created or borrowed. Owing to these causes, a more or less rapid change of vocabulary goes on continually in every living language. Such changes have taken place within BH. itself and would have continued on a more extensive scale in post-Biblical times, even without the dominating influence of Aramaic.

But while individual words and phrases can be freely laid aside, borrowed or exchanged, grammatical forms and rules are not so easily and so freely manipulated. True, they, too, are subject to change, but the change must be natural, gradual, and imperceptible. For grammar is, as it were, the soul of the language, and by violently surrendering its grammar, the language would at the same time be giving up its very life and committing its own destruction. Change in grammar is usually a very slow and laborious process. The germ of the new form must have existed in the language long before the new form made its appearance. When it does appear, it remains for a time quiet and unobtrusive, and slowly and gradually works its way until it acquires a permanent place in the government of the language, existing for a long time side by side with the old form which it is eventually to supplant. And when the latter is compelled at last to acknowledge itself conquered, it does not yet yield up its position entirely, but continues to exercise some kind of power,

however feeble and subordinate, until it is finally exterminated by its rival and disappears entirely.

It follows, therefore, that if MH. be a direct development of BH., its grammar will be found to coincide in its general characteristics with the grammar of the latter, while in certain particulars it will exhibit changes which it will be possible, to some extent at least, to trace to their BH. sources and to explain their growth by the general laws which regulate the development of Semitic grammar as exemplified in other Semitic dialects. The new forms will often agree with Aram., but this agreement will have to be capable of being accounted for partly by the close kinship which has ever existed between Hebrew and Aramaic, and which would lead to the same results being produced in the two languages under equal conditions, partly by the direct influence which a powerful and widely diffused language, such as Aram. was in the Mišnaic period, would naturally exercise upon a less powerful, though living and independent, neighbouring dialect.

On the other hand, if MH. be but an artificial creation of men who spoke Aram. as their natural language, its grammar would be bound to assume one of the following three forms: either it would be a painfully exact and pedantic copy of BH., or entirely an imitation of Aram. grammar, or, finally, a more or less skilful but mechanical and unnatural blending of the grammars of BH. and Aram., forming a sort of hotch-potch incapable of lending itself to rational explanation or to philological analysis.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to survey the leading characteristics of the grammar of MH., and to compare them, wherever possible, with the corresponding forms in BH., in Aram., and in other Semitic dialects, in order to ascertain the true nature of the dialect as revealed in its grammar and its relation to BH. and to Aramaic.

## THE PRONOUN.

1. *Personal Pronoun.* The first person singular is in the Mišna and in other purely MH. works always אני and not אנכי. The latter is only found either in quotations from the Bible or in direct allusion to Biblical passages.

This exclusive use of אני MH. shares with later BH. Thus אנכי never occurs in the popular Song of Songs, in Lamentations, in Haggai, in Zachariah i-viii, in the semi-colloquial memoirs of Ezra, in Esther or in Koheleth; and only once in each of the following books: Ezekiel (xxxvi. 28 in a common and stereotyped phrase, cf. Jer. xi. 4, xxx. 22, &c.), Nehemiah (i. 6 in a prayer), Daniel (x. 11 in the words of the angel), and Chronicles (1 Chron. xvii. 1 from 2 Sam. vii. 2). Elsewhere the chronicler regularly substitutes אני for אנכי: contrast 1 Chron. xvii. 6 with 2 Sam. vii. 18; 1 Chron. xxi. 10, 17 with 2 Sam. xxiv. 12, 17; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 27 with 2 Kings xxii. 19. In the Pentateuch the portions assigned by critics to J and E, show indeed a distinct preference for אנכי, but P uses אני almost exclusively<sup>1</sup>. So also Aramaic (with the exception of the Zinjirli dialect)<sup>2</sup>, Arabic and Ethiopic possess forms corresponding to אני only, while Assyrian, Moabitish, and Phœnician use forms corresponding to אנכי only. In earlier Hebrew alone the two forms are found existing side by side, but אני, being the shorter of the two, gradually came to be employed more frequently, especially in colloquial speech, until the longer form disappeared entirely from common use.

The *plural* is everywhere אנחנו<sup>3</sup>. This form occurs, as is well known, only once in BH., and then only in the Kethîb

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Driver, *Introd. LOT.*<sup>6</sup>, p. 156 note, and the references to König.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Cooke, *N. Sem. Inscr.*, Nos. 61, line 1 אנך; 62, l. 19 אנכי; but 63, l. 1, 20 אנח. The statement in the text does not, of course, imply that 'anî and 'anâ have a common origin; cf. Stade, *Hebr. Gr.*, § 179 a 2.

<sup>3</sup> But in the earlier portions of the liturgy אנחנו is the regular form, cf. *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, edited by Rev. S. Singer, pp. 9. 51, &c., and contrast with the *Confession*, p. 262, &c.

(Jer. xlii. 6), which is rather remarkable, seeing that the Kethib generally represents a more archaic type of the language. The word seems to be a popular formation from **אני** on the analogy of the plural forms of the pronominal suffixes **קטלני**, **קטלנו**, or of **ממני**, **ממנו**; cf. also the verbal plurals **קטלו**, **יקטלו**, &c., and the use of *u* in Assyrian as one of the plural terminations of nouns<sup>1</sup>. From the vernacular the form crept into the book of Jeremiah, which was a great favourite with the popular reader, as witness the many interpolations and glosses found in it<sup>2</sup>; but it was struck out by the Massorah as a vulgarism.

All other Semitic languages have forms corresponding to **אנחנו**. So especially the Aram. dialects **אנחנו**, **נחנו**, **אנחנו**, and in the latest and most debased dialects **אנן**, with the syncope of the inaudible guttural.

The pronoun for the second person masculine is in MH. **אתה**, just as in BH. But **את** for the masculine occurs in **את פתח לו** (Passover Haggadah and in the parallels *Mekilta*, 13, 14; *Talm. j. Pesah.*, 10, § 4); **את קביר** (*Sifré*, Num. xi. 6; *Gen. rabba*, 2, 12), and more frequently in the late Haggadic Midrašin. This masculine use of **את** is so rare and exceptional in earlier MH. that it can hardly be considered as evidence of a genuine modification of the established rule. **את** must be regarded in such cases as having been borrowed directly from the Aramaic.

The occurrence of **את** for the masc. in BH. (Num. xi. 15; Deut. v. 24; Ezek. xxviii. 14) is most probably due to a scribal oversight<sup>3</sup>.

In the plural **אתן** is sometimes found for **אתם** and **הן** for **הם**, but this is merely a phonetic change which is very common in MH., but which may partly be due to the influence of Aram., in which these pronouns end in **ן**.

2. *Demonstrative Pronoun.* The fem. sing. is usually **זו**.

<sup>1</sup> Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 192 (5).

<sup>2</sup> Graetz, *Geschichte*, vol. II, part 2, p. 13, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the spelling **את** 1 Sam. xxiv. 19, Ps. vi. 4, &c., and see Driver on Deut., l. c., and the *Oxford Heb. Lex.*, s. v.

In BH. the form occurs once in Hosea (וְ, vii. 16) and in the cycle of N. Israelitish stories in the books of Kings (וְ, 2 Kings vi. 19), both of which exhibit a number of dialectal peculiarities; further in Ezekiel (וְ, xl. 45), who has several other neologisms, in a late psalm (וְ, Ps. cxxxii. 12), and six times in Kōheleth.

It is therefore very probable that the shorter form וְ or וְ existed from early times as a dialectal form in the northern speech, from which it gradually spread to the south, and in the course of time supplanted the longer form וְ.

The plural is וְ for וְ, which occurs also in Sirach (וְ, li. 24). The change of the second vowel must have been due to an unconscious desire to indicate more distinctly the plural character of the word. The vowel chosen is the same as in וְ discussed above.

MH. has also preserved the demonstrative use of the pronouns of the third person, e.g. *Sanh.*, III, 3 בּוֹמֵן שֶׁאֵין לָהֶם אוֹמֶנֶת אֲלָא הוּא "When they have no other trade but *that one*"; *B. Bathra*, V, 2 הַמּוֹרֵךְ הוּא "that ass of thine," as opposed to הַמּוֹרֵךְ זֶה; so often הָרִי הוּא, הָרִי הֵיא, הָרִי הֵם; but more commonly with the article הַהוּא, הֵהֶם.

The stronger demonstr. הַלֹּז is found only in the shortened form הָלוֹ: *Tohoroth*, IV, 3; VI, 5 לְמַקּוֹם הָלוֹ; VI, 8 "If he stands in *this* entrance (בַּפֶּתַח הַזֶּה) of the *basilica* and can see those who come in and go out through *that* (= the opposite) entrance (בַּפֶּתַח הַלֹּז)" *Maccoth*, II, 2 הוֹצִיא הָלוֹ "that one brought out his head<sup>1</sup>."

The fem. הָלוֹ is found in *Yebamoth*, XIII, 2 וְתָצֵא הָלוֹ מִשּׁוֹם "that one goes forth<sup>2</sup> on account of her being the wife's sister."

The form הָלָה seems to be shortened from הָלוֹ with the apocope of the ו<sup>3</sup>. It has the same force as הָלוֹ but is only used substantively<sup>4</sup>: *Ma'as. Seni*, III, 2 וְהָאֹכֵל בִּירוֹתָיו בְּתַהֲרָה "that one" *Ma'as. Seni*, III, 2.

<sup>1</sup> But the Cambridge codex (C) reads הָלָה. <sup>2</sup> i.e. הַחֲצוּצָה, Deut. xxv. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. נָטַח from נָטַץ (Koh. x. 8), and כִּיבֵד from כִּבֵּד.

<sup>4</sup> Graetz, *Orient.*, 1845, col. 77.

וְהִלָּה עֲרֵסָה צָרְכֵּי בְמַעֲוָתוֹ “*This one eats his fruits in purity and that one does what he requires with his money*”; *Nedarim*, IV, 8, V, 6; *B. Mešiat*, III, 2; *Sanh.*, VII, 10 (הִלָּה opposed to הוּא); ‘*Aboda Z.*, IV, 12. In *Yebam.*, III, 5 || ‘*Eduyoth*, IV, 9 הִלָּה stands also for the feminine הִלָּה אִשָּׁה<sup>1</sup>.

The plural of הָלוּ (= הָלוּהוּ) and of הִלָּה is הִלָּלִי, evidently a contraction of הִלָּ + אֵלַי: *Ketuboth*, VII, 8 מוֹמֵין הִלָּלִי “these defects,” and frequently.

MH. also uses the particle אֵת as a demonstr. The particle stands alone when introducing a clause, e.g. *Gittin*, IX, 5-7 אֵת שֶׁהָעֵדִים נִקְרָאִין עִמּוֹ כִּשְׁר “That one with which the witnesses are read (i. e. which is immediately followed by the signatures of the witnesses) is valid.” *Ohol.*, II, 4 אֵת שֶׁהַגּוֹלֵל נִשְׁעָן עָלָיו “That one on which the *golel* is supported.” So especially to introduce two cases which either agree or differ from one another: *Berak.*, III, 1 אֵת שֶׁלִּפְנֵי הַמִּטָּה וְאֵת שֶׁלְּאַחַר הַמִּטָּה אֵת שֶׁלִּמִּטָּה צוּרֵךְ בָּהֶן פְּטוּרִין אֵת שֶׁאֵין לַמִּטָּה צוּרֵךְ בָּהֶן חַיִּיבִין “Both of *those* before the bier and of *those* behind the bier: *those* of whom the bier has need are absolved, but *those* of whom the bier has no need are bound (to read the Šema’);” so *Šekalim*, VIII, 7; *Kin-nim*, III, 1, and, with omission of second אֵת, *Yadlaim*, III, 1.

When introducing a noun the particle is followed by the pronom. suffix of the 3rd person in anticipation of the following noun<sup>2</sup>, e.g. בְּאוֹתָהָ שְׁעָה “in *that* hour” (*Pea*, V, 4), בְּאוֹתוֹ יוֹם “in *that* day,” אוֹתוֹ אִישׁ “*that* man,” &c.<sup>3</sup>.

The origin of this use of אֵת may be discovered probably

<sup>1</sup> Graetz’s suggestion (l. c.) to point the fem. הִלָּה is improbable. If this were so it would have been spelt הִלִּי just like הִלִּי.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, p. 82 f. Literally the phrase means: “in its essence, namely, of the hour,” &c. (cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, p. 280, footnote 1), and is parallel to BH. בְּנִימָה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה. Compare with the less emphatic הַיּוֹם below, p. 84).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Weiss, p. 112. The remark of Ges.-K. (§ 117 i) concerning the MH. use of אֵת is incorrect.

in the peculiar usage found sporadically in all parts of the Bible, but more frequently in its later parts, of placing **אֵת** before a noun, not necessarily in the accusative, in order to emphasize it or bring it out more prominently before the reader, thus imparting to the particle a semi-demonstrative force<sup>1</sup>. Analogous to the MH. use of **אֵת . . . , אֵת** may be mentioned Ezek. xxxv. 10 (emphatic "both . . . and"), xliii. 7; also Neh. ix. 19 and 2 Sam. v. 8.

The use of these demonstrative forms is peculiar to MH. and is unknown in Aramaic.

3. *Relative Pronoun.* The relative is in MH. everywhere — **אֲשֶׁר**. **אֲשֶׁר** only occurs in the early liturgical language which is conceived in an elevated and semi-Biblical strain; thus in the Passover Haggadah . . . **אֲשֶׁר נִאֲלָנוּ וְנֵאֵל** (*Pesahim*, X, 6), in the Evening Service . . . **אֲשֶׁר בִּרְבֵּרוֹ** (Singer, op. cit., p. 96), and often in benedictions; so the formula **אֲשֶׁר קִרְבֵּנוּ** **אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶר בְּנוּ** (ibid., pp. 4, 124, 219, 274, 276, 278, &c.); **אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵר** (pp. 4, 230, 243); **אֲשֶׁר נִתֵּן** (pp. 5, 68); **אֲשֶׁר בְּרָא** (pp. 280, 299) and a few more. Elsewhere — **אֲשֶׁר** is used: **אֲשֶׁר עָבַדְנוּ** (p. 51), **אֲשֶׁר עָבַדְנוּ** (p. 239), and in benedictions (*Berak.*, VI, 3; VII, 3; IX, 1 ff.; Singer, pp. 5 f., 276, 290, 291, &c.).

In BH. the shorter form occurs twice in the Song of Deborah (**אֲשֶׁר**), a N. Israelitish production; three times in the story of Gideon—a N. Israelitish hero; once in the N. Israelitish section of the books of Kings; exclusively, except in the late superscription, in the collection of popular songs known as Canticles, which originated most probably in N. Palestine<sup>2</sup>; sporadically in the later books, and very frequently in *Koheleth* (cf. Ges.-K., § 36). Now whatever the relation of the two forms to each other, there is no doubt that **אֲשֶׁר** is as old as, if not older than **אֵת**. Its confinement in the earlier books to N. Israelitish

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gesenius, *Lehrgebäude*, p. 683 f., König, *Syntax*, § 270 f. and the Oxford Lexicon, p. 85, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Driver, *Introd.*, p. 449.

documents proves, as Schröder<sup>1</sup> remarks, that its use must have been common in the vernacular speech of N. Palestine, under the influence, to some extent at least, of the Phœnician אַש, אַש, the Assyrian *ša*, and, perhaps, also the Aram. אַש, אַש. The scarcity of its occurrence even in these documents proves that it was regarded as a vulgarism which the literary language had to avoid. Its use gradually extended to S. Palestine, and being the shorter and more pliable form, it must in the course of time have entirely supplanted the longer form in the common language of the people, and from this it descended directly into MH. But the literary prejudice against it seems to have remained very strong, even long after BH. had ceased to be a living speech. This prejudice accounts for the non-occurrence of אַש in Esther, its scarcity in the Chronicles, and the anxiety to avoid it displayed occasionally even by a man of such an independent mind as the author of *Koheleth*<sup>2</sup>, not to mention such a studious imitator of the ancients as Sirach.

4. *Interrogative Pronoun.* By prefixing the interrog. particle אַש to the demonstratives זה, זו MH. has formed a new interrog. adjective אַשְׁמָה, fem. אַשְׁמָה "which?" It is often strengthened by the addition of the enclitic הוּא, הִיא, with which it is sometimes written as one word, אַשְׁמָהּ, אַשְׁמָהּ, *Zebahim*, V, 1 אַשְׁמָהּ מְקוֹמָן שֶׁל זְבָחִים "which is the place of sacrifice?"; אַשְׁמָהּ הִיא דֶּרֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל "which is the right way?" *Aboth*, II, 1; *Kelim*, XVII, 6 אַשְׁמָהּ גְּדוּלָּה, &c.

אַשְׁמָה being practically one word, prepositions are attached to אַש, as בְּאַשְׁמָה, בְּאַשְׁמָה, לְאַשְׁמָה, &c.

The plural of אַשְׁמָה is אַשְׁמָה, of which only the following

<sup>1</sup> *Phœniciz. Sprache*, § 65 and footnote.

<sup>2</sup> Note such cumbrous and inconsistent phrases as בְּשֵׁל אֲשֶׁר יִשְׂרָאֵל (= Aram. . . . בְּשֵׁל אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשְׂרָאֵל, iii. 11, &c.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the phrase so common in the Halakic Midrašim כַּדְּמָה "which side?" = how?, contracted usually in the Mišna and elsewhere, by the elimination of the זה, to כַּדְּמָה. In the fragment of the Mišna with superlinear vocalization published by J. B. Markon (*Hakedem*, No. 1, St. Petersburg, 1907) the form is still written כַּדְּמָה and כַּדְּמָה, cf. the formation of הַזֶּה from the original הַזֶּה discussed above, p. 11.

examples have been discovered by the writer: *B. Mes.*, X, 1 וְרוֹאִים אֵלָיו הָאֲבִנִים הָרְאוּיֹת לְהִשְׁתַּבֵּר "They consider *which* are the stones which are likely to have been broken"; *Makširin*, III, 2 בְּאֵלֵינוּ מִשְׁקֵן אֲמָרוּ "In the case of *which* fluids have they said it?"<sup>1</sup> Possibly this plural may also be found in *B. Mes.*, II, 1 אֵלֵינוּ מִצִּיאוֹת יָלְדוּ וְאֵלֵינוּ חַיִּיב לְהַכְרִיז "Which things when found are his (= the finder's) and which is he bound to proclaim?" So D. Hoffmann in his translation and commentary. But the following resumption אֵלֵינוּ מִצִּיאוֹת שְׁלֹ and § 3 לְהַכְרִיז favour the rendering "these, &c." also in the foregoing passage.

This אֵלֵינוּ is a contraction of אֵלֵינוּ + אֵי and perhaps ought to be spelt אֵילֵינוּ, the defective spelling being due to the ignorance of the scribes, who mistook it for the demonstr. plural. The Rabbis, who had a passion for lucidity and precision, seem to have avoided this word for fear of this confusion with the demonstr., and hence its extreme rareness.

The composition and use of אֵיָּה is thoroughly Hebraic, and not, as might perhaps be imagined, an adaptation of the Aramaic אֵידָא, אֵידִין; rather may the latter be a translation of the MH. forms.

We have in BH. a number of passages by which we can trace the development of the phrase to its later sense. In אֵיָּה זֶה בֵּית הָרֹאֶה (1 Sam. ix. 18) the emphasis is on אֵי (= אֵיָּה), while זֶה serves merely as an enclitic particle to add strength and directness to the question<sup>2</sup>, and the proper answer to the question would be הִנֵּה or פֹּה בֵּית הָרֹאֶה. So Isa. l. 1 אֵיָּה זֶה סֵפֶר כְּרִיתוֹת 1, and Jer. vi. 16 אֵיָּה זֶה דֶּרֶךְ הַטּוֹב וְלֹכֹ בָּהּ, where it is to be noted that דֶּרֶךְ, which is in the constr. state, is explicitly treated as fem. = בָּהּ; so, probably, also Job xxxviii. 19 (bis), 24. Through constant use, however, of this interrog. combination, the emphasis would in the course of time be sometimes shifted from אֵי to זֶה, especially as Hebrew words have a tendency of shifting forwards the accent, and the question would now be in the demonstr., the answer being

<sup>1</sup> The rendering "In the case of *these* fluids, &c." would not accord with the usual interrogatory style of the Mišna.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ges.-K., § 136 c, d, and Burney's Note on 1 Kings xiv. 6.

no longer הנה or פה but זה<sup>1</sup>, while אי would be reduced to a mere interrogative particle as in איפה, איכה and MH. אימה<sup>2</sup>. This is the case in אי זה הדרך הלך (1 Kings xiii. 12) "*which* way did he go?"; הדרך being the direct object of הלך as in the following clause. If the question had been "*where* is the way in which he went?" the relative אשר, which is very rarely omitted in good prose, would have been inserted before הלך. So also 2 Kings iii. 8 אי זה הדרך נעלה "*which* way shall we go up?" as is shown by the answer: דרך מדבר אדום, and 2 Chron. xviii. 22 אי זה הדרך עבר<sup>3</sup>. In all these passages דרך is treated as masc., as sometimes elsewhere, or the phrase אי זה, having become stereotyped, is used without regard to the gender.

These two usages of אי זה must have existed side by side, influencing each other until finally the older sense disappeared and אי זה ceased to be an interrog. of place and became a pure interrog. pronoun or adjective. So in Koh. ii. 3, and especially in xi. 6, where it stands before a verb, אי זה יכשר. Though the two parts of the combination are still kept separate and distinct, the phrase is already indistinguishable from the MH. איזה.

An intermediate stage, where אי may bear the meaning both of "where?" and of the mere interrog. particle, is to be observed in cases where the phrase is combined with a preposition. Thus the question אי מזה באת (Gen. xvi. 8) presupposes the statement מזה באתי "from here (= this place) I come," and originally it must have meant, "Where is the מזה from which thou comest?", though as it stands אי hardly seems to be more than a mere sign of the interrogative. So Judg. xiii. 6, 1 Sam. xxv. 11 (a virtual question), 2 Sam. i. 3, 13, Job ii. 1, and in Jer. v. 2 לזאת תסלה לי, אי לזאת תסלה לך, which presupposes the statement לזאת תסלה לי.

In 2 Sam. xv. 2 אי מזה עיר אתה, where the phrase is used without regard to the gender of the following noun, and in Jonah i. 8 ואי מזה עם אתה, we have the interrogative in its full MH. sense, except that the two parts remain separated with the preposition attached to the second component, while MH. would say: מאיזה עם, כאיזו עיר.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Koh. xi. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Against Levy, *NHWB.*, s. v., cf. Payne-Smith, s. v. **ايمه**.

<sup>3</sup> In the parallel account 1 Kings xxii. 24 הדרך seems to have fallen out.

<sup>4</sup> Hence the rendering of the LXX: *ἐκ ποίας πόλεως* and *καὶ ἐκ ποίου λαοῦ*

5. *The Article.* The MH. article is identical with the BH. article both in form and in the general characteristics of its usage. Thus it is used whenever a noun is definite and known either from being definite in itself (e. g. החמה "the sun," השחר "the dawn," העולם "the world," הישבת, &c.), or by having been mentioned before, or by being well known or necessary in connexion with the subject treated (e. g. נושאי הפֶּצֶה "the bearers of the bier" in connexion with a dead body, *Berak.*, III, 1; מוזגן את הפֶּס "the cup is filled" (literally "mingled," in connexion with *Kidulush*, VIII, 2)). The article is used with titles (e. g. הממונה "the overseer," *Yoma*, II, 1; הסגן "the deputy High Priest," VII, 1; אנריפוס המלך <sup>1</sup> King Agrippa, *Bikkurim*, III, 4; יהודה הנשיא R. Juda the Prince (but כהן גדול and others)); with the vocative (e. g. המעון הזה "by this habitation!" *Ketub.*, II, 3; *Kerithoth*, VI, 3; המלך "O King!" *Sifre*, Deut. iii. 23, העבודה "by the Service!" &c.); with names of material (העץ "wood," *Šabb.*, II, 3; הכסף, הזהב, *B. Mes.*, IV, 1); with collectives (e. g. הלוף והשום "Lof and garlic," &c., *Terumoth*, IX, 6); with abstracts (e. g. הגני והכח והעושר "beauty, strength, riches, glory, &c.," *Aboth*, VI, 8; *B. Mes.*, IV, 3, &c.).

The principle of using the article with nouns which are definite in the mind of the speaker<sup>2</sup> has found a much more extensive application in MH. than in BH. But it must be confessed that the article is used also in cases which cannot easily be brought under this heading, as e. g. הצואה "dirt," *Berak.*, III, 5; הצמר "wool," *Šabb.*, I, 6 and often. This must probably be ascribed to the influence of Aram., in which the emphatic state is so indiscriminately used even in those dialects which have still preserved the absolute state of most nouns. It must not, however, be

respectively. But אֵי מִדָּה, not followed by a noun, is rendered by the LXX by *πόθεν*: Gen. xvi. 8; Judg. xiii. 6; 1 Sam. xxv. 11; and 2 Sam. i. 3. 13. אֵי, however, the LXX always renders by *πόιος*, except in Job xxxviii. 24.

<sup>1</sup> For the order, cf. Driver, *LOT*.<sup>6</sup>, p. 506, No. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ges.-K., § 126 q-t, Driver on 1 Sam. i. 4; xix. 13.

supposed that MH. was becoming unconscious of the force and meaning of the article. On the contrary the emphatic and demonstrative force of the article in BH. has been strengthened and still further developed in MH., as will be evident from a consideration of the following idioms:—

(1) The article is regularly used with the participle in the sense of “he who . . .,” “she who . . .,” &c., especially in semi-conditional sentences, e. g. הקורא את שמע ולא השמיע לאוזניו “*He who reads the Šema’ but has not made his ears hear it,*” i.e. if one reads, &c., *Berak.*, II, 3; המתפלל וטעה “*He who prays and commits an error,*” i.e. if one prays, &c., V, 5; המוצא תפלן, ‘*Erub.*, X, 1; החובל בחברו “*He who wounds his neighbour,*” *B. Kam.*, IX, 1, &c., &c. Contrast with *Exod.* xxi. 12 מכה איש ומת; *Prov.* xv. 32 . . . פורע מוסר מואם; *Koh.* x. 8 יפל חופר נומין בו יפל, &c.

(2) The article is prefixed to adjectives used substantively, i.e. when the nouns to which they refer are omitted. This omission is due to the laconic brevity and the parsimony in words which is one of the characteristics of Rabbinic diction, especially in the Halaka. The article in this instance serves to emphasize the nominal character of the adjective. In some cases it has a demonstr. force “that which.”

*Demai*, IX, 6 טול אתה הלה ואני את היבש “Take thou the wet and I (take) the dry,” sc. הטים mentioned before, or תבואה. *Terum.*, I, 5 . . . ולא מן התלוש על המהופר . . . ולא מן התקדש . . . &c. “Neither from that which is loose upon that which is joined to the soil, &c.,” *ibid.*, I, 7, II, 6, IV, 8; ‘*Erub.*, X, 11 (והמונת), *Megilla*, I, 11 and *Zebah.*, XIV, 6 בכל הרואה sc. מקום “In every place which can see it,” viz. the High Place of Šiloh (an allusion to *Deut.* xii. 13 בבל מקום אשר תראה)<sup>1</sup>. *Sanh.*, VII, 2 נותנין כוור “A hard napkin is put into a soft one.” *Aboth*, II, 1 קשה לתוך הרפה מצוה קלה כבבתמורה; II, 9 הנולד sc. דבר *Menah.*, X, 2; *Hullin*, II, 6 הישוט המוכנת “If one slays a beast afflicted with a fatal illness”; IV, 2 המבכרת (cf. *Bekor.*, III, 2); *Bekor.*, II, 6, 7 היפה (cf. *Kerith.*, VI, 6), VI, 4 והפנימיות; *Mikwaoth*, V, 5 הנוחלין sc. מים “those which trickle and those which drop,” i.e. water derived from a flowing stream and from rain respectively;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Tosefta Pesah.*, III, 10; *R. Hašana*, 2<sup>b</sup>.

VI, 3 השאוב sc. מקוה "A ritual bath filled with water drawn from another source."

In *Kidduš*, I, 4 for והרקה ought to be read ובהמה רקה "and small cattle," according to the Editio Princeps (Naples, 1492) and the Cambridge codex<sup>1</sup>.

(3) In a number of passages, hardly exceeding forty in the whole *Mišna*, the attribute (an adjective, but more commonly a participle, active or passive) is found with the article, while the substantive is without the article, but in almost all these cases the attribute is more or less emphatic, limiting the range of the substantive or contrasting it with another substantive of a different character, and the article is thus often equivalent to introducing a qualifying relative clause. As is well known, this construction is already found in a comparatively large number of Biblical passages<sup>2</sup>, and in some of them a certain emphasis is to be observed in the attribute<sup>3</sup>; but many more "are hardly reducible to any rule<sup>4</sup>," and may therefore be regarded as colloquial irregularities which crept into the literary language. All the examples, however, in the *Mišna*, with hardly any exception, can be explained on the score of emphasis.

The following classification contains a fairly complete list of the passages in the *Mišna* with this construction:—

(1) When one attribute of the subst. is to be distinguished from another attribute of the same substantive expressed explicitly or implied: 'Erub., X, 11 והמניח . . . . . בו נגר הנגרר נועלים "A bolt *which* is dragged (on the ground by a string tied to the door) one may bolt with it in the sanctuary but not in the country, but (with a bolt) *which* lies loose it is prohibited both here and there."

<sup>1</sup> *The Mishna on which the Palestinian Talmud rests*, ed. by W. H. Lowe, Cambridge, 1883. In future these two texts will be quoted as N. and C. respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Ges.-K., § 126 *w*, *x*; Driver's *Tenses*<sup>3</sup>, § 209.

<sup>3</sup> Ges.-K., l. c., letter *w*.

<sup>4</sup> Driver, l. c. The expression איש הישרא (Lev. xxiv. 10) may perhaps be due to the analogy of the preceding בן הישראל. In יאיש הער (2 Sam. xii. 4) a certain emphasis may be intended in the adject. as distinguished from the רשע; so perhaps in Num. xxviii. 6, Judg. xvi. 27. In Zach. iv. 2 (note that הר הרב is vocative) a ה has perhaps fallen out, as the last word, ארה, ends with ה, and the substantive itself, הר, begins with ה.

*Šabb.*, XIX, 5 קטן החולה "an infant who is ill," opposed to an ordinary infant dealt with at the beginning of the section.

*Beša*, V, 3 כלים המיוחדים לאחר מן האחים "articles which are the special property of one of the brothers," opposed to the following רשאיין מיוחדים.

*Yebam.*, IV, 3 נכסים הנכנסים ויוצאים עמה "properties which come in and go out with her (= the wife)," i. e. נכסי מלוג<sup>1</sup> as opposed to ordinary נכסים or to נכסי צאן ברזל.

*Ketub.*, VIII, 2 נכסים הידועים לבעל opposed to the following רשאיין ידועין.

*Ketub.*, VIII, 3 פירות התלושין מן הקרקע "fruits which have been plucked from the ground," opposed to the following והמחוברין "those which are fixed to the ground."

*Ketub.*, XIII, 10 מוציאין מנוה הרע לנוה היפה אבל לא מנוה היפה "the husband may take his wife from a bad habitation to a fair one, but not *vice versa*."

*Sota*, VII, 3 עניה האמורה להלן "the 'answering' spoken of there," opposed to the following כאן (עניה האמורה).

*B. Kam.*, I, 2 נכסים המיוחדים "property which is the special possession of some owner," opposed to נכסי הפקר "unowned property<sup>2</sup>."

*Ibid.*, רשות המיוחדת למזיק "a locality which belongs to the person causing the injury," opposed to רשות הרבים "a public locality," or to רשות הנזק "a locality belonging to the person injured<sup>3</sup>."

*B. Meš.*, II, 1 גיזי צמר הבאות ממדינתן "shorn wool which comes from the country," opposed to הלקוחות מבית האומן "those which have been brought from the mechanic," *ibid.*, II, 2.

*Aboth*, V, 8 מיתות האמורות בתורה שלא נמסרו לבי"ד "capital penalties which are enjoined by the Torah, but which are not in the power of the court of law to inflict," opposed to capital penalties שנמסרו לבי"ד.

(2) When only one attribute is mentioned, but with the chief stress laid upon the attribute and not upon the substantive, the article being still equivalent to a relative:—

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Levy, *NHWB.*, s. v. מלוג.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the *Gemara*, fol. 13 b.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the preceding מקום.

*Erub.*, IX, 4 נשרים המפולשים “bridges under which there is an open passage.” So following למבוי המפולש.

*Yebam.*, XII, 6 עצה ההוגנת לו “a counsel which is suitable (= profitable) to him.”

*Aboth*, I, 11 למקום מים הרעים “to a place of waters which are evil.”

*Hullin*, IV, 1, 2, 4 בהמה המקשה לילד “a beast which has hard labour in bearing” (cf. Gen. xxxv. 17).

*Ibid.*, IV, 7 נפש היפה “an appetite which is good.”

*Ibid.*, IX, 2 נמל הרכה “a tender (= young) camel, calf.”

*Arakim*, IX, 7 כח היפה “the power which is good (= privilege).”

*Kelim*, II, 7 קלמרים המתואמות “a double (= twin) inkstand.”

*Chol.*, XVIII, 8 ועפר התיחוח “earth which is crushed.”

(3) Some of these are standing expressions which have acquired almost a technical sense:—

*Šekal.*, VI, 2 שער העליון “the Upper Gate,” so Ezek. ix. 2.

*Yoma*, IV, 2, VI, 2 שעיר המשתלח “the goat which is to be sent away to Azazel,” as opposed to שער החטאת.

*Kidduš.*, II, 9 (and often) שור הנסקל “an ox condemned to stoning” (cf. Exod. xxi. 28, &c.).

*B. Kam.*, I, 4 (&c.) שור המועד “the goring ox the owner of which has been forewarned<sup>1</sup>,” as opposed to שור תם.

*Sanh.*, VII, 4 נערה המאורסה “a betrothed maiden” (cf. Exod. xxii. 25, 27).

*Eduyoth*, V, 6 נפחה המשוחררת “a manumitted female slave<sup>2</sup>.”

*Aboth*, I, 1, 2 בנסת הגדולה “the Great Synagogue,” as distinguished from an ordinary בנסת.

*Ibid.*, II, 11 עין הרע ויצר הרע “an evil eye and evil inclination<sup>3</sup>,” as opposed to עין טוב and יצר טוב<sup>4</sup>.

(4) Where the subst. is preceded by a preposition, the latter may be pointed with *pathah*, or the expression is to be classed under the preceding headings:—

*Pesah.*, VI, 5 לדבר המותר, לד' המותר; *B. Bathra*, X, 8 (end) קעוף, הגם; *Hullin*, III, 1 במ' המתגבר, so *Aboth*, II, 8 במעין הנובע

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Exod. xxi. 29.

<sup>2</sup> C. reads משוחררת.

<sup>3</sup> So according to the traditional pronunciation עין, לשון, where עין and לשון are treated as masculine. So according to the traditional pronunciation עין, לשון, as absolutes.

<sup>4</sup> This last expression, not found in the Mišna, does not take the article at all. Cf. below, p. 23.

הרק ; *Kerith.*, III, 1 לקרבן הקל ; *Kelim*, VIII, 1 במת החמור ; XXI, 1 בב' התחתון, בבובר העליון.

In *'Erub.*, III, 6 יום-טוב הסמוך, the compound י"ט never takes the article ; so *Mikva'oth*, III, 4 בעל-קרי החולה ; cf. below, p. 23.

On the other hand, cases are found in which the subst. has the article but not the attribute.

(1) *Pe'a*, VIII, 4 נאמנין על הירק חי ואין נאמנין על המבושל (the poor) are to be believed in the case of raw vegetables (if they declare it to have been given them as 'tithes of the poor,' but they are not to be believed in the case of cooked (vegetables). Here חי may be explained as accusative of state—"being raw<sup>1</sup>." Cod. C. actually reads in the second clause עליו מבושל ; but the Munich cod. has החי<sup>2</sup>.

*Terum.*, VII, 3 המאביל את פניו קטנים ואת עבריו בין גדולים ובין קטנים. Here, too, the adjective may be taken as acc. of state, "being young . . . whether young or grown up<sup>3</sup>."

But this explanation can hardly apply to the following passages :—

*Tamid*, II, 4 סידר המערכה גדולה מזרחה "he laid in order the great pile (of wood on the altar) towards the east."

*Ibid.*, II, 5 לסדר המערכה שניה של קטרת "to set in order the second pile for the frankincense."

*Kelim*, VIII, 10 הכנים ראשו לאויר התנור טמא "if he caused his head to enter into the air space of a clean oven he has defiled it," and foll. הכנים ראשו לאויר התנור טמא נטמא.

*Para*, XI, 2 כל הפסוק טהור לתרומה טהור לחטאת "every doubtful case which would be clean in respect to *Teruma* is also clean in respect to the Red Heifer." Perhaps the article was omitted from the first טהור (attributive) by analogy of the second (predicative).

For חבית מר' (Aboda, IV, 10) cod. C. reads חבית מר', while Munich cod. has הח' המר'.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. הורג בשיה, Num. vi. 19, and see G. B. Gray, ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rabinowicz, ספרים, דקדוקי ספרים.

<sup>3</sup> But cf. *Talmud b. Ketub.*, 103 ב לבי גבן אי צריך "I require my youngest son," and then לבי גדול אי צריך.

<sup>4</sup> This form with ה locale is only found here in the *Mišna* and in *Para*, XXXI, 8, both treatises belonging to the oldest strata of the *Mišna*, cf. D. Hoffmann, *Die erste Mischna*, pp. 18, 21.

For הַמִּים הַשֵּׂא (Temura, I, 4) N. reads 'המים השא', while C. has מים שאובים.

Nega'im, X, 3 מִיד הַשֵּׁעָר צָהִיב (so N.), C. reads 'שער צ'. Note the following מִיד שַׁעַר צָהִיב.

Cf. in BH. 1 Sam. xv. 9 (הַמִּלְאכָה נִמְבֹּזָה); 2 Sam. vi. 3; Jer. ii. 21, xxii. 6, xxiv. 2; Ezek. x. 9, xxxix. 27; Esther ii. 14; Dan. viii. 13, xi. 31. After a suffix, Gen. xliii. 14; 2 Sam. xxii. 18 (אוֹיְבֵי עוֹ); Ezek. xxxiv. 12; Ps. cxliii. 10<sup>1</sup>.

(2) Sometimes the article is omitted with a demonstrative attribute, e.g. *Terum.*, III, 5 הַכֹּרִי זֶה "this heap of corn"; *Me'ila*, VI, 6 הַבֵּיס זֶה "this bag." In BH. this construction is found regularly when the subst. is determined by a suffix (e.g. רַבְרִי אֱלֹהִים, Deut. xi. 18), and only occasionally, for the sake of euphony, when determined by the article<sup>2</sup>. But in Moabitish and in Phoenician it seems to have been pretty common<sup>3</sup>.

The article is always omitted in a number of common expressions, specially compounds, which have become standing expressions, and as such are considered definite in themselves, e.g. תַּלְמוּד תּוֹרָה "the study of the Torah"; סֵפֶר תּוֹרָה "good manners"; יוֹם טוֹב, בַּעַל מוֹם, בַּעַל קָרִי "High Priest." Conversely other nouns of the same nature are only found with the article, e.g. בֵּית הַכִּנּוֹסֶת, בֵּית הַמִּדְרָשׁ (οἰκοδοσπότης), בַּעַל הַבַּיִת; but plural, בָּתִּים כְּנֻסוֹת, בָּתִּים מִדְרָשׁוֹת, בַּעֲלֵי בָתִּים. Further, עַם הָאָרֶץ, and plural, עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ.

The article is always omitted with the genitive when introduced by שֶׁל and preceded by an anticipatory suffix (e.g. *Šabb.*, I, 1

<sup>1</sup> See König, *Syntax*, § 334 m, s, cf. also the omission of the article with the attribute of old proper names in BH., e.g. הָרֹם רֵבָה; 1 Kings ix. 17, &c.; but contrast || 2 Chron. viii. 5 הָהָהָק 'ב' ה' הַהָהָק, and 1 Chron. vii. 24. Cf. also the formula קִרְשָׁם on coins of Simon Maccabaeus, beside the more usual הַקִּרְשָׁה (Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 67 f.). In this case the article may have been omitted in order to save space. So in Syriac ܠܥܒܕܐܝܬܐ, cf. Nöldeke, *Beiträge z. semit. Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 49, footnote 2; also *Syr. Gram.* (Engl. tr.), §§ 202, B. Rem., 203.

<sup>2</sup> Ges.-K., § 126 y, and *Tenses*, § 209.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Schröder, op. cit., §§ 43 (on הוּא), 58 and footnote, and 61; G. A. Cooke, *N. Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Contrast Ezra ix. 1 עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ in a different sense.

יָדוּ שֶׁל עָנִי), of which more will be said below in the treatment of this construction<sup>1</sup>.

Having now arrived at the conclusion of our survey of the MH. pronoun, we are in a position to affirm that as regards the pronoun, MH. stands wholly on the basis of BH., and that the few differences in forms and syntax between the two dialects are natural developments in MH. out of the older BH.; developments, moreover, which bear the stamp of a popular and almost colloquial character (cf., e. g., אָנִי, אַלּוֹ, הֵלֵךְ, הֵלְלוּ, אַתָּה, &c.). The development and growth of the MH. pronoun have been seen to have proceeded gradually and uninterruptedly along the lines laid down by BH. and to have been hardly ever disturbed by Aramaic influence.

#### THE VERB.

The MH. verb, as is but natural, differs materially from the verb in classical Hebrew both in form and usage. Some old formations have almost disappeared (e. g. the Pu'al and the Po'el in verbs עָ"ע), while many forms which appear in BH. as late and irregular neologisms have become here the normal type (e. g. the Nithpa'el; the new intensive forms of verbs עָ"ע). A great many syntactical idioms, which imparted such beauty and force to classical Hebrew style, are here entirely absent (e. g. the consecutive tenses, the variety of constructions with the infinitive); while, on the other hand, new constructions have arisen which were rare or unknown in BH. (e. g. the rise of a present tense in the participle, its use with הִיּה, the periphrasis of the future by עָתִיד). Nevertheless, in spite of its great gains and still greater losses, the MH. verb, such as it is, is entirely indigenous and Hebraic. The Aram. influence which appears here and there, especially in the syntax, is not

<sup>1</sup> The frequent omission of the article in Sirach is probably to be ascribed to a studied imitation of the poetical and elevated style of BH. (cf. Ges.-K., § 126 h).

so intense or so general as might be supposed. Frequently this influence had already been active in Biblical times, and sometimes a form or usage which appears at first as an Aramaism, will be found on closer examination to be a feature common to many or all Semitic dialects in a later stage of their development. Such changes and differences manifested by MH. cannot therefore be ascribed, as they have been hitherto, to Aramaic influence, but must be explained as productions of the laws of growth and decay which govern all living languages in general and the Semitic family in particular.

We proceed to review the more prominent etymological and syntactical modifications exhibited by the MH. verb.

### 1. *The Stems.*

The *Kal* is identical both in form and meaning with BH. The form *Katēl* is exhibited by the verbs כָּטַל, כָּטַל, כָּטַל, &c. *Katol* is only found in the common verb יָבֹל.

The *Niph'al* also agrees practically with the Niph'al in BH. It is found in a *reflexive* sense. לִיטְהַר (= להטהר) "to purify oneself"; . . . נחלקו עליו "the sons of the High Priests divided themselves against him," i.e. disagreed with him (*Ketub.*, XIII, 1, 3); נמנו "they counted themselves" (*Šabb.*, I, 4); ונמנתי (*Pesah.*, IX, 11); היה נטמן "he would hide himself" (*Arakin*, IX, 4).

In a *middle* sense: נִשְׁאַל "to inquire" (*Mo'ed Kat.*, III, 1); נִפְרְעִין "to obtain payment" (*Ab. Z.*, I, 1); נִזְכֵּר "to recollect" (*Berak.*, III, 5; VIII, 7); נִהֵנָה "to enjoy" (*Aboth*, IV, 5, so *Sirach* xxx. 19); נִמְלֵךְ "to change one's mind<sup>1</sup>."

More frequently as passive of *Kal*, נִמְכְּרוּ "they were completed," *Pea*, IV, 8; כֻּלְּ הַזִּבְחִין "all sacrifices which are eaten," &c., &c. Denominative Niph'al is found in יִעָנֶי "to become poor"; יִעָשֶׂר "to become rich." *Šekal.*, III, 2 (but followed by העני, העשיר).

In חֵרֵשׁ רוֹמָן וְרוֹמָן קוֹפֵין וְנִקְפֵין "a deaf-mute makes signs (with his hand or head) and signs are made to him,

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "to obtain counsel for oneself," cf. *Neh.* v. 7.

... makes signs with his mouth and signs with the mouth are made to him" (*Gittin*, V, 7), the Niph. is used loosely in order to preserve the personal construction with the subject which is a characteristic feature of Mišnaic style<sup>1</sup>.

So the *Pi'el* is identical with the BH. *Pi'el* except that it is often spelt with *yod* after the short *hirek*. This, of course, is merely an orthographical device to facilitate the correct pronunciation, and has no grammatical significance whatever<sup>2</sup>. Cf. also the full spelling of the Pu'al (e.g. מְחַוֵּר), of the Hoph'al (e.g. הוּמָר), and in nouns like אוֹכֵל, גִּזְרֵן, &c.

The *Pi'el* is used in an *intensive* or *iterative* signification, e. g. מְפַסְלֵן "to trim, cut off twigs," *Šebi'ith*, II, 3; מְמַרְסֵן "to mingle, stir" (*ibid.*, II, 10; cf. Ezek. xlv. 14); הַמְעַפְדֵּו "he who tans it"; הַמַּחְתֵּבּו "he who cuts it up" (*Šabb.*, VII, 2); מְמַר "to smear" (*ibid.*, XXII, 3; cf. Isa. xxxviii. 21); הוּ מַחְלֵשֵׁן "they were plucking violently" (*Yoma*, VI, 4); וּזְנִתָּה (*Sanh.*, VII, 2); מַחְמַרְתָּן "coveteth them" (*Maccoth*, III, 15); הַרוּחַ מְנַשֶּׁבֶת "the wind bloweth" (*Menahoth*, X, 4), &c.

*Causative*. סִילַק "to put aside"; מַחְמִיץ "causing to be leavened" (*Orla*, II, 4); מְדַמֵּעַ "causing to be mingled"; טָמֵא "to defile"; עֲפָרָה "he caused her to be pregnant" (*Yebam.*, VII, 5; cf. Job xxi. 10); מִילְדִין "to help in child-bearing," so מִילְדָּת "a midwife" (BH.); מְדַרִין "causing to walk" (*Šabb.*, XVIII, 2; cf. Ps. xlii. 5); לִישְׁכַּח "to cause to forget" (*Erub.*, VII, 9; cf. Lam. ii. 6); מְשַׁתְּקֵן אוֹתוֹ "they silence him" (*Sanh.*, V, 4), &c.

*Denominative*. מְזַבֵּלֵן "to cover with manure" (> זָבַל); מְאֲפִקֵן "to cover with dust"; מְעַשְׁנֵן "to fumigate" (*Šebi'ith*, II, 2), often in a *privative* sense: מִיִּבְלֵן "to remove wens"

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Erub.*, IV, 10; *Mo'ed Kat.*, III, 1, &c.

<sup>2</sup> So regularly in Aram. In MH. the full spelling is confined to certain types of texts. Stein's suggestion (*Das Verbum*, p. 31) that this spelling signifies a lengthening of the vowel consequent upon a dissolution of the doubling cannot, in view of these facts, be entertained at all.

(> יבלה, Lev. xxii. 22); מסקלון "to remove stones" (BH.); מורדן "to nip off shoots" (> ורר) (ibid., §§ 2, 3), &c.

Of the *Pu'al* only the participle is common, e. g. מחוקק "cut up"; מרובה "large"; מיופה "beautified, beautiful"; מכוער "ugly"; מיוחד "specially belonging" or "unique"; מרומע "mingled" (of tithed fruit with untithed); מחומץ "sour"; מעופרת "pregnant"; מאוחר "late<sup>1</sup>." But the other parts are extremely rare, the passive Nithpa'el being used in their place. The following instances only occur: לוקט "gathered" (*Pea*, V, 1); העופר צורתו "let its form be made to pass away" (i. e. let the sacrifice be kept over the prescribed period and thus become liable to be burnt), a sacrificial technical expression. (*Pesah.*, VII, 9; *Šekal.*, VII, 3; *Zebah.*, VIII, 4); שינובו<sup>2</sup> "that they might become dry" (*Makširin*, V, 3); יחוננו, in elevated style (*Sota*, IX, 15, a later addition to the Mišna not found in N.), and הייבנו *Talmud b.*, *Makkoth*, 3 a. יופי (*Pea*, VI, 6), cited by Stein. is doubtful. C. reads יופי, N. יפי, Munich cod. יפה. The parallel הורע proves nothing. In *Ketub.*, VIII, 4 יפה (so in all texts) is used as the opposite to הורע<sup>3</sup>. ויבוקס הרבר, in the historical *Baraita Talm. b. Kiddušin*, 66 a, is, as Stein (p. 12, n. 7) observes, a reminiscence of Esther ii. 23. In *Pesah.*, III, 1 point אלו עוברין "these pass away," sc. מן העולם, i. e. are destroyed<sup>4</sup>, and not as Weiss (p. 78) suggests עוברין which would involve an unnatural construction<sup>5</sup>.

The disappearance of the *Pu'al* and its replacement by the originally reflexive Nithpa'el is evidently due to the decay of the inflexional power of the language which was no longer capable of expressing the modification of the stem-idea by internal change alone without the aid of external additions to the stem<sup>6</sup>. The participle with its

<sup>1</sup> Hence probably מיהר = ביאָהר.

<sup>2</sup> N. reads שינובו, on which cf. Stein, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also *Talm. b. Kidd.*, 20 b; *Arakin*, 30 b.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Aboth*, V, 21.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Geiger, *Jüd. Zeitschrift*, 1867, p. 173; and Stein, l. c.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Geiger, *Lehrbuch*, § 15, 2.

firm preformative has been preserved, and even extended to newly acquired verbs; but the imperfect with its continually changing personal preformatives, and especially the perfect which had no preformatives at all, were no longer able to maintain themselves. This decaying tendency was already strong in BH., where the old passive of the *Kal* disappeared entirely, leaving behind only a few traces, and its place was taken by the reflexive *Niph'al* <sup>1</sup>.

The same tendency was at work in all the other Semitic languages. In Assyrian <sup>2</sup> the reflexive stems were gradually supplanting the passives. In Ethiopic <sup>3</sup>, in Modern Arabic <sup>4</sup> and, of course, in Aramaic <sup>5</sup>, all the passive forms have entirely disappeared, and their place has been taken by the corresponding reflexives. MH., therefore, presents in the disappearance of the *Pu'al* a common Semitic phenomenon which, however, it confines to one stem only, while the other languages extended it to all the verbal stems <sup>6</sup>.

The *Hiph'il* is practically identical both in form and signification with the BH. *Hiph'il*. The Aram. *ס* for the formative *ה* is only found in *מה שאניתי* "wherein thou hast cheated me" (= *הניתי*, Exod. xxii. 30, &c.; cf. the verbal noun *אונאה*, *B. Mes.*, IV, 4<sup>7</sup>, but such Aramaisms already occur in BH., as *אשכים* (?), Jer. xxv. 3, and according to Barth (*Nominalbildung*, p. 73) also in *ארוץ*, *אמוק*; cf. also the noun *אזכרה* (cf. Ges.-K., § 63 *k, p*).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ges.-K., §§ 52 *e, s*, 53 *u*, and the ref. to Böttcher and Barth.

<sup>2</sup> Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup>, § 115, pp. 238-9.

<sup>3</sup> Dillmann, *Ethiop. Gr.*<sup>2</sup>, § 80.

<sup>4</sup> Spitta-Bey, § 90 a (4).

<sup>5</sup> With the exception of a few isolated forms in Biblical Aramaic and in some inscriptions, cf. Nöldeke, *GG.A.*, 1884, p. 105; Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, p. 224 f.; Driver, *LOT.*<sup>6</sup>, p. 504.

<sup>6</sup> As might have been expected, the disuse of the *Pu'al* in MH. has also been laid to the door of Aram. influence, because, forsooth, the latter has no *Pu'al* (Stein, p. 11). But the Aram. contemporary with MH. has no *Hoph'al* either, and yet the *Hoph'al* is so abundant in MH.

<sup>7</sup> C., however, reads *שחניתי* *אכפה* (*B. Mes.*, III, 7, IX, 4 and often in Talmud) cited by Siegfried and Strack is a purely Aram. form borrowed from the colloquial speech of the common people, and is, probably, not a verb at all.

As regards its meaning the Hiph'il occurs—

As *causative* very frequently: מקריא "to sanctify"; מאחזין את האור "to make to read—read to" (*Bikk.*, III, 7, &c.); משחיטין את הטבח "cause the fire to take hold (of the wood)<sup>1</sup>=kindle," *Šabb.*, I, 11; XIV, 5; משחיטין את הטבח "cause the butcher to slay," *Hullin*, V, 4, &c. &c.

*Denominative.* התליע "to breed worms, decay"; figuratively, "spread like worms" (*Kilaim*, II, 3, also *Sirach* xxx. 13), and in a *privative* sense: "to remove worms" (*Middoth*, II, 5); הנריל "to east lots" (*Yoma*, VI, 1); המנדיש "to pile up a stack" (*B. Kam.*, VI, 3); הרביש "to ferment" (of honey, *B. Mes.*, 38 a); המשליש "to deposit with a third party" (> שליט, *Ketub.*, VI, 7); האהיל "to overlay, cover," *Ohol.*, II, 1, &c.

*Internal Hiph'il.* This is even more common in MH. than in BH.: הוריקו "to become yellow" (*Šebi'ith*, VI, 3; *Ma'aseroth*, IV, 2, &c.); יבריא "to become healthy," *Šabb.*, XIX, 5; מִשֶּׁתַּנְדִּיל "after she will have grown up," *Ketub.*, VI, 6; והעשיר . . . והעני "he grew rich . . . poor" (*ibid.*); הבריקה "she became bright," euphemistically "blind" (*B. Mes.*, VI, 2); יחכים "grow wise," *B. Bathra*, X, 8; הקדים "to advance, be first"; הפליג, הרחק "to be far," &c., &c.

The *Hoph'al* is extremely common. It differs in no respect from the BH. *Hoph'al* except that it takes invariably the vowel *u* after the preformative, written — הו<sup>2</sup> instead of the usual BH. *hō*. This form of the vowel is found in BH. occasionally in the strong verbs (*Ges.-K.*, § 53 s) and regularly in most of the weak verbs (*viz.* ע"ו, פ"ו, פ"נ, ע"ע, and ל"א). As *u* is also the regular vowel of Pu'al, it became in the popular mind the *only* characteristic vowel of the passive stems, to the total suppression of the vowel *ō*.

The few relics of the *Hoph'al* in Aram. have *ō* after the

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise Jastrow. We should, probably, point אור (*Isa.* xxxi. 9, &c.), Aram. נור "a fire," and not according to traditional pronunciation אור.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above (p. 26) on the spelling of the Pi'el. Stein cites one exception, *viz.* קְחוּרָה *Sifré*, *Deut.* iii. 23. His suggestion that קור is merely *hō* written *plene* is hardly probable.

preformative except in the weak verb; thus הִנַּחַח, הִתְקַנַּח, but הִסַּס, חִסַּסָּה; cf. Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, p. 225.

*Hithpa'el* and *Nithpa'el*. The reflexive of the intensive stem in MH. is, with few exceptions, Nithpa'el instead of the BH. Hithpa'el. Now these two formations are practically identical both in form and meaning, except that in the perfect the one has ה as its preformative and the other נ. There can, therefore, be no doubt whatever that the two form really one and the same stem<sup>1</sup>. The preformative —ה was in the course of time changed in popular speech into —נ on the analogy of the Niph'al, through —ה becoming associated in the popular mind with the causative idea through the influence of Hiph'il and Hoph'al, and —נ with the reflexive idea through the influence of the Niph'al. This change only extended to the perfect, for in the imperf. there was no room for either of these preformatives, and in the infinitive and imperative the Niph'al itself has —ה, hence also the Hithpa'el-Nithpa'el has retained —ה (e. g. לְהַתְּנִיחַ, *Aboth*, IV, 5; לְהַתְּקַנֵּי, V, 17; הַסְּתַבֵּל, III, 1, &c.). In the participle the preformative מ has maintained itself, in spite of the Niph'al participle נִקְטֵל, through its firmly established nominal force, which is so universal in Semitic speech. Besides, it would be unreasonable to expect that an analogy formation of this kind should be worked out to its full logical extreme.

This change of preformative must have begun at an early period in the popular idiom, hence its occurrence already in Deut. xxi. 9 and later in Ezek. xxiii. 48, where, it is to be noted, it has a passive signification. Gradually it made its way until in the Mišna the old form was almost entirely suppressed. The preformative —ה survives only in the old Mišna, *Bikk.*, III, 6<sup>2</sup>: וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה (perhaps only

<sup>1</sup> Contrast Geiger, § 15, and Siegf.-Strack, § 91, and compare Stein, p. 17. Salomon Levysohn (cf. above, p. 3, n. 2) explains the form Nithpa'el as an artificial composition of the Niph'al and the Hithpa'el.

<sup>2</sup> | *Sifré*, Deut. xxvi. Note the form נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה and the general purity of style of this and the preceding sections. Cf. also Hoffmann, *Die erste Mischna*, p. 15 f.

a reminiscence of והשתחוית (Deut. xxvi. 10); in the liturgical expression התפלל (*Ta'anith*, III, 8; old?) and in the legal phrase מנה מתן התקבלתי "I have received from thee a mina" (*Ketub.*, IX, 8). In V, 1, C. reads שנתקבלתי, while in N. it is missing; in 'A. Z., IV, 12, both C. and N. read שנתקבלתי, while ordinary edd. have התקבלתי.

The phonetic rules regulating the preformative ת are the same as in BH.; thus נשתתק "to become silent, dumb"; נשתתף "to join in partnership"; נסתמא "to become blind"; נצטרע "to become leprous." With first radical א the ת is changed into ד and transposed, as in Aram. (Dan. ii. 9): נודמן "to chance"; נורעו "to be shaken violently"; להודיף "to be forged" (*Gittin*, II, 4).

Before the letters ט, ת, ה the ת is assimilated to the first radical, the short vowel being, however, often represented by a י as in Pi'el, e. g. שְׁפִיירָה "to be manured by cattle"; שְׁפִיִיבָה "to be improved" (*Sebi'ith*, IV, 2); וּמִטְמֵא בְנֵיהּ "and he becometh defiled by a *Niddah*" (*Nidd.*, V, 5; but also מִתְטֵמֵא, *Nazir*, IV, 3. Cf. especially *Kelim*, II, 1); מִיתְרַגֵּם "to be translated." Cf. further, Stein, p. 19.

As regards its meaning, the Nithpa'el bears the same relation to the Pi'el as the Niph'al to the Kal. It is primarily *reflexive*, as נסתפן "to dry oneself"; נתעפך "to busy oneself"; נתודע "to make oneself known," &c.; or what may be termed *internally reflexive*: נסתפל "to look intently, consider" (= BH. התבונן); נשתדל "to endeavour, strive"; נתחירא "to fear" (*Sota*, VII, 8, also *Sirach* iv. 36, xii. 11); מִתְנַדְבֵּן שֵׁמֶן (*Zebah.*, X, 8; cf. *Ezra* iii. 5; 1 *Chron.* xxix. 17). Note especially נתפסק "to regain the sense of hearing and speech"; נתפתח "to regain the sense of sight"; נשתפה "to become sane"; נתחרש "to become deaf"; נסתמא "to become blind"; נשתפה "to become mad" (*Gittin*, II, 6); נשתתק "to become dumb" (*ibid.*, VII, 1). Also *reciprocal*: נשתתף "to join in partnership" (*Pea*, III, 5); נצטרף "to join one another" (*ibid.*, VI, 1); נתערב "to become mixed" (*Yebam.*, XI, 3). As *passive* it is very common, serving as a

substitute for the Pu'al, e.g. נתבשל, נתנייר, נתנלה, נתארסה, נתפתתה, &c., corresponding to the actives בישל, נייר, נלה, ארס, פתח, &c.

This passive use of a reflexive stem is, as stated above (p. 28), common to all Semitic languages in their later phases, but in BH. it is only regular with the Niph'al, while in the Hithpa'el it is only found in וישתמר (Micah vi. 16), וישתבחו (Koh. viii. 10), and in the cases of Nithpa'el mentioned above (p. 30).

As in BH. and other Semitic languages<sup>1</sup> the reflexive idea is often expressed in MH. by periphrasis instead of the reflexive stems. This is especially the case with verbs which have no Nithpa'el. But instead of נפש, which is usual in BH. and Aram., MH. uses for this periphrasis the noun עצם ("bone," and in a derived sense, "substance, essence"), followed by the appropriate pronominal suffix, e.g. *Kidduš.*, I, 1, קונה את עצמה "acquires herself"; so in the following sections; אין אדם משים את עצמו רשע "A man cannot make himself guilty," *Talm. b.*, *Yebam.*, 25 b, &c.

This use of עצם is found already, in the construct state, in BH., but only in connexion with things, viz. בעצם היום הזה (Gen. vii. 13 and frequently); בעצם השמים (Exod. xxiv. 10) and בעצם תמו (Job xxi. 23). But it is obvious that the expression must have been primarily applied to animate beings and then figuratively also to inanimate beings, so that it must have been more commonly used in actual life than appears in the literary remains of old Hebrew.

עצם is also used generally in MH. as a reflexive pronoun, e.g. לעצמו (*Aboth*, I, 5); בעצמך (*ibid.*, II, 4); הוא עצמו "he himself"; זה בעצמו וזה בעצמו "this by itself and this by itself" = separately (*Šabb.*, XIX, 2); so לעצמה וזו לעצמה (*Pesah.*, I, 2). As a genitive עצם is equivalent to an emphatic pronominal suffix, e.g. לבין עצמו "between him and his own person," i.e. privately (*Bikk.*, I, 4); על ידי עצמו "on his own behalf" (*Ketub.*, II, 9); מעשה עצמו "his own act," as opposed to מעשה שורו (*B. Ĥum.*, III, 9); דברים של עצמו "matters affecting himself,"

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ges.-K., § 139 f, s, and Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, p. 129.

opposed to *בפני עצמך* (*Šebu'oth*, III, 5); *לפני עצמך* "before thyself" (*Aboth*, II, 13); *בכסות עצמן* "by their own garment" (*Tamid*, I, 1); *מחמת עצמן* "through themselves" (*Para*, VIII, 11), &c.; cf. also the phrases *להוב בעצמך* "to be guilty against thyself, thy life" (*Berak.*, I, 3), with *מתחייב בנפשו* (*Aboth*, III, 4, 7, 8); *תמה עצמך* "wonder in thyself" (*Makširin*, I, 3), with *תמה בנפשו*.

This use of *עצם* is an exclusively MH. idiom, and the late Aram. use of *גרם* in the same signification is an imitation of MH. (cf. also 2 Kings ix. 13 and see Burney's Note).

The old form *Saphēl* is found in the two verbs *כרב* (= *כרהב*) "to refuse, rebel" and *כרגל* (> *רגל*) "to rule, draw lines," and in the nouns *סמרטוט* (> *מרט*) "rag, lappet," and *כרק* (> *ריק*) "empty." The *Saphēl* occurs only in the two very common verbs *שעבר* "to enslave, subdue," and *שחרר* "to liberate, manumit," and in the corresponding verbal nouns *שעבוד*, *שחרור* and also in *שעמום* "dullness" (> *עמם*, Ezek. xxviii. 3, &c.). These formations are found in all Semitic languages and also in BH.<sup>2</sup> The verbs *שעבר* and *שחרר* are, however, most probably loan-words from the Aramaic.

Like BH. and other Semitic languages<sup>3</sup>, MH. has formed a number of *quadrilaterals*, but it does not exhibit in their formation that lack of restraint and of good taste which characterizes so many of the Aram. and especially Syriac formations<sup>4</sup>. They may be classified as follows:—

(1) Those formed by doubling the third radical: *ערבב* "to mingle"; *שרטט* "to scratch, inscribe"; *קמצץ* "to press."

(2) By repeating the whole root, only in *ע"ע* and *ע"ו* verbs: *קלקל* "to damage"; *פרפר* "to crumble"; *סלסל* "to curl, twist"; *כלכל* "to maintain"; *נמנמ* "to be drowsy."

(3) By inserting a *ר* after the first radical: *קרצף* "to scrape"; *קרסם* "to trim, gnaw" (= BH. *כרסם*, Ps. lxxx. 14); or adding a *ר*

<sup>1</sup> Also in Sirach, iv. 25 a, xli. 2, and probably also in BH. *כרבים*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, p. 204 f., Ges.-K., § 55 i.

<sup>3</sup> Ges.-K., § 56; Wright, *Arab. Gr.*<sup>3</sup>, I, § 67; Spitta, § 89; Dillmann, *Eth. Gr.*<sup>2</sup>, § 71 ff., and Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, p. 218 f.

<sup>4</sup> Noldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 180, and especially § 182; Dillmann, p. 251 f.

at the end: קנתר or קנטר "to chide" (> קנט); or a פרסם : מ (> פרש) "to spread abroad, publish"; or a פרסם : ס "to move convulsively."

(4) Denominatives: נתאלמן or, after the Aram. fashion, נתארמל "to become a widow"; נתכרכם "to look saffron-like, abashed" (> כרכם, Cant. iv. 14); כרכב "to round off" (> כרכב, Exod. xxxvii. 7, xxxviii. 4); משכן "to pledge" (> משכון)<sup>1</sup>. Note also הלקט "to stuff birds," probably a Hiph'il, "to cause to pick up," but used as an independent verb — מהלקטין (*Šabb.*, XXIV, 3). פרנס "to sustain"; קרטס "to scrape," and תרגם "to translate" (BH.) are most probably loan-words<sup>2</sup>.

Most of these formations are also common in Aram. dialects, but in few, if in any, belongs the priority of formation to Aramaic. Some of them, like הלקט, כרכב, קרטס, קרעף are the exclusive possession of MH.

## 2. THE TENSES.

In the inflexion of the verb, the following variations from the BH. forms are found in MH. :—

The second masc. plural of the perfect sometimes ends in תן for תם (e.g. עשיתן, *Middoth*, II, 1; but עשיתם in *Aboth*, II, 3). This is usually ascribed to Aram. influence<sup>3</sup>. But may not this modification be due simply to the natural phonetic change of ם into ן? How liable older Hebrew was to make this change, and how anxious it was to avoid it, is shown by the fact that the tone was always placed on the syllables תם, תן, כם, כן, &c., in order, presumably, to ensure the distinct pronounciation of the final consonants, and to prevent their being confused with each other. Naturally this confusion which appears in MH. was facilitated and accelerated by contact with Aram., but it is difficult to believe that Aram. influence alone would have produced this change of letters if Hebrew itself had not shown a natural tendency in that direction. Aram. influence was incapable of remodelling in the least the

<sup>1</sup> An Assyrian word, Nöldeke, op. cit., § 181 (8).

<sup>2</sup> Cf., however, Jastrow, s. vv.

<sup>3</sup> So Stein, p. 24.

inflexion of the Hebrew verb after its own manner. It could not produce a change in the vowel of this suffix from *ē* to *ū* and *e* (cf. MH. קטלָתָם, קטלָתָן with Aram. קטלתין, קטלתין). Moreover, this influence, if it had really been so intense, ought to have worked in an opposite direction. Instead of producing in MH. one form for both genders, it ought to have preserved and accentuated in MH. the differences and distinction between the genders and persons of which Aramaic itself is so jealous, while Hebrew had always been slack about them, as is shown by the common gender of קטלו (Aram. קטלו m.; קטלא, קטלי f.), and the use of הקטלנה for the second and third fem. plural (Aram. הקטלן, הקטלן or הקטלן respectively).

In the imperfect the form הקטלנה has entirely disappeared without leaving any trace in the whole of the vast MH. literature<sup>1</sup>. קטלו and הקטלו are therefore used for both genders just like קטלו already in BH. and קטלתן sometimes in MH. In this MH. has merely developed to the full a tendency already strong in BH. (cf. Gen. xxx. 39; Lev. xxvi. 33 b; Judges xxi. 21 a, &c.; Ges.-K., § 145 *p, t, u*). Modern Arabic has gone further in this respect than MH., inasmuch as it has given up all the fem. plural forms, whether in the perfect or in the imperfect<sup>2</sup>. Aramaic, however, has anxiously preserved the distinction of gender even in the latest and most decayed dialects<sup>3</sup>.

The imperfect Kal of transitive verbs is, in accordance with the general rules of spelling in MH., written plene יקטול. The plural remains יקטלו even at the end of a sentence. In a few instances, however, the form יקטולו is found in pause: *Tohor.*, X, 3 ער שיטבולו "until they bathe"; *Mikwaoth*, I, 5 וישטפו "and they will overflow"; *Ukṣin*, III, 4 ער שימתקו "until they become sweet"; ויהלוקו "and

<sup>1</sup> The form יקטלנה in the 18 (19) benedictions (Singer, p. 51), is an adaptation of Isa. xxxiii. 17 and Ps. xvii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Spitta, § 90 a (1).

<sup>3</sup> Mandaic forms an exception, as it uses sometimes the masc. for the fem.; cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, § 162, and p. 87 (top).

they shall divide" (*B. Mes.*, I, 1, 2, &c.), the latter also without pause in *Ketub.*, VIII, 2. So שימתו "that they may become softened" (*Tohor.*, IX, 5), and the fem. sing. שתדורי "which thou wilt vow" (*Nedarim*, X, 7), which Stein (p. 30) ascribes to Syriac influence<sup>1</sup>.

So also in the imperative in pause כתובי "write ye!" ; התמו "seal ye!" *Gittin*, VI, 7; VII, 2.

The *consecutive tenses* have practically<sup>2</sup> disappeared altogether in MH. They are not even found in the liturgy except in a few isolated cases, viz. in the *Ahaba*, שבטחו (Singer, p. 39), but it may be doubted whether this phrase existed in the benediction in Mišnaic times<sup>3</sup>; in the formula for the sanctification of the festivals: ותתן לנו (Singer, pp. 228, 230, &c.); in the *Habdala*: ותלמנו, ותברך, &c. (*ibid.*, pp. 46, 227, 240, six times beside one perf. with simple *waw*); in the Service for the New Year: ותפקדהו (p. 250), ותשמיעם . . . בהגלותך (p. 252); in the *Ne'ila* for the Day of Atonement: ותלמנו, ותפירהו (p. 267). These instances must be ascribed to the influence of Biblical style which manifested itself only in elevated and semi-poetical passages. They are not deliberate imitations of the old literary style, nor are they derived from the living speech of the day; for in either case they would have occurred more frequently.

As is well known, numerous passages are found even in the oldest portions of the Bible in which the simple tenses are used in place of the usual consecutive tenses, and this becomes more frequent from the times of Jeremiah onward, until in *Kōheleth* the relation between the consecutive and

<sup>1</sup> In *Megillah*, III, 3, the ordinary reading לא יהוש is correct. יהוש could hardly be used in an impersonal sense (against Stein, l. c.).

<sup>2</sup> The only passage known to the writer where the consec. tenses are found is the remarkable *Baraitha* in *Talm. b. Kidduš*, 66 a, in which the impf. consec. occurs seven times (three of which are the form ויאמר), beside eleven times of the perf. with weak *waw*. This *Baraitha* seems to be a fragment of a collection of historical tales written in MH. but affecting to imitate the old historical style.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Berak.*, I, 4. The phrase in the *Geulla*, ויקצי כים צידים (Singer, p. 43), is of course a quotation from Ps. cvi. 11.

the simple tenses is reversed, i. e. the use of the simple tense becomes regular while that of the consecutive tense becomes exceptional. The explanation of this phenomenon as due to Aramaic influence, though obvious and plausible, is inapplicable to the cases in the earlier books (cf. Driver's *Tenses*, § 133). It remains, therefore, to say that this irregularity arose at an early time within the Hebrew language itself and independently of outside influence. For it is inconceivable that in ordinary colloquial Hebrew, even of the golden age of the language, such a subtle and complicated idiom as the use of the consecutive tenses could have always been observed with the strict precision which we generally find in the literary dialect. The popular speaker could not always have been equal to the mental strain involved in the regular and continuous use of a construction of this nature. Now and again looseness of thought would manifest itself in loose and irregular constructions, and these would in due time find their way into the literature, and what was first a vulgarity would in the course of time become merely a permissible and innocent irregularity of style, and later a regular alternative construction, until finally it would become the acceptedly natural and regular mode of expression.

It may even be doubted whether the consecutive construction ever attained in popular speech that dominating position which it occupies in the literary dialect, and whether the more original and more convenient construction with the simple tenses did not survive in the everyday language side by side with the new and more elegant construction by means of the consecutive tenses. In Phœnician, which also possesses the consecutive tenses, the simple tenses are used very often where B.H. would employ the consecutive; thus וַיִּשְׁמַע ... וַיִּפְעֹל (Cooke, *N. Sem. Inscr.*, No. 3, l. 8); וַפְעֹלָתָא אֵיךְ וַיִּקְרֹאֶיָּהּ (No. 29, l. 13); בֵּן ... וַיִּפְעֹל (No. 33, l. 3); פִּעֵל וַיִּקְרֹא (No. 38, l. 1), and the common phrase יָתֵן וַיִּשְׁמַע (No. 13, l. 2, &c.), both verbs of which are perfects.

The contact with Aram. would, naturally, but strengthen the position of the older construction, until finally the consecutive tenses would be entirely banished from the living language and survive only in literature largely by force of the literary tradition, as in *Koheleth*, *Daniel*, &c., or through conscious and deliberate imitation of older models; so in *Esther*, *Chronicles*, and in *Sirach*. If this be the case, the consecutive tenses must have become obsolete in the living language long before the close of the Canon.

### 3. THE INFINITIVE.

Of the various and manifold constructions with the infinitive to be found in BH., MH. has only retained the gerundial use with ל to express the motion, direction, and purpose of a verb. In its nominal capacity the infin. has been supplanted in MH. by the corresponding verbal nouns which are so numerous in MH., while for the infin. with the prepositions ב, ב, periphrasis with — קִיץ (= BH. באשר, Aram. כרי, Dan. vi. 10, כר) has been substituted as in Syriac and usually in Aramaic. The loss of these constructions cannot be ascribed to Aram. influence, since in Aram. the infinitival construction is to be found pretty often, at least in the Targumim, e. g. במיתה (Gen. xlviii. 7), במפקיה (xii. 4), במיתה (xxiv. 61), במפקי (Exod. ix. 29), בשלחותיה (xi. 1), &c., &c. These Aram. forms may, of course, be due to the influence of the Hebrew text; but the fact remains that they were permissible in Aram. and not in MH. Moreover, the infin. absolute for emphasizing a following finite verb is extremely common, not only in the Targumim but also in Syriac<sup>1</sup>, while not a trace of it is to be found in MH. The loss of the infinitive must therefore be due to natural decay. And in fact in those late books of the Bible which have not been influenced consciously or unconsciously by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 293 ff. In the Targumim the inf. absol. is used almost always where the Hebrew text has it. Cf. also Winer's *Chald. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> (1882), § 46, 4, 5.

earlier models the use of the infin. is much more scarce than in earlier books. Thus in Nehemiah's Memoirs the inf. with כ is only found once, כְּשֶׁנֶּעֱשֶׂי (i. 4); contrast with כְּאִשֶּׁר נִבְנְתָה (vii. 1), &c. In Koheleth the infin. with ל is extremely common, just as in MH., while the other infinitival constructions are extremely rare. The only real infinitives in the book are בְּרִבּוֹת (v. 10) and בִּשְׁפָל (xii. 4), since בְּרִיב (i. 18, v. 2, 6, xi. 1), מֵלֵא (iv. 6)<sup>1</sup>, and בְּרִיעַ (vii. 3) are properly substantives. Contrast, on the other hand, מְבִלִי אִשֶּׁר לֹא יִמָּצֵא (iii. 11), כְּאִשֶּׁר חֵלֶךְ (iv. 17), כְּאִשֶּׁר יִהְיֶה (viii. 7), also iv. 10-12, &c., where older Hebrew would certainly have preferred the infinitival construction. So also in the book of Canticles, the inf. with ל alone is found (vi. 2, 11), but not with כ or ב. Note the construction in viii. 1, 6, 8, and other places where literary Hebrew would have certainly used the infinitive. This construction of the infin. with כ or ב is also absent in the first chapter of Daniel, while from the clumsy way in which it is employed in the rest of this book, and also in the original passages of the Chronicles<sup>2</sup>, it is evident that it was with these authors an artificial mode of expression, in the use and application of which they were but seldom successful. Its total disappearance, therefore, in MH. is but natural and inevitable.

As regards the form of the infin. with ל, it may be remarked that in the Niph'al the preformative ה is usually elided after the ל, as לִישָׁבַע "to swear"; לִיִּסְקַל "to be stoned," &c., though the full form is quite common, e.g. לְהִבְרָאוֹת (*Aboth*, V. 1), especially in weak verbs: לְהִוָּדַע (*Aboth*, IV, 22), לְהִנָּדָר (*Šeb'ith*, III, 9). In the Hiph'il the ה is but rarely elided, as in לְרַבּוֹת (= לְהִרְבּוֹת), לְשִׁהוֹת (= לְהִשְׁהוֹת) "to cause delay" (*Erub.*, X, 5)<sup>3</sup>. This elision

<sup>1</sup> These two are often construed in the same way in MH., e.g. *Aboth*, III, 15 הָיָה הַמַּעֲשֶׂה; *Kdaim*, III, 1 מֵלֵא וְהָיָה הַמַּעֲשֶׂה, cf. II, 6; *Šabb.*, VII, 8, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Driver, *LOT*,<sup>6</sup>, pp. 506, No. 12; 538, No. 37.

<sup>3</sup> לְשִׁיחָה quoted by Stein (p. 10) is a noun = לְשִׁיחָה "for a spread" or "mat," cf. Bertinoro to *Hullin*, IX, 3.

of the ה is merely an extension to the infinitive when preceded by a preposition of the phonetic principle followed in the formation of the imperfect; cf. also the elision of the article after a preposition, and other cases of the elision of ה in Ges.-K., § 23 k. It is found in isolated cases also in P'H.<sup>1</sup> and must have been very common in the colloquial language.

The analogy of the imperfect is also evident in the formation of the infin. of verbs the first radical of which is a weak letter. Thus לִישָׁן, לִידַע, לִירָד : פִּי, corresponding to the impff. אָרַד, אָדַע, אָנַף, אָנַף = impff. יָרַד, יָדַע, יָנַף. So לִישָׂא, לִיתֵן, except in the standing expression לִשְׂאֵת וּלְתַת (literally, "to give and to take," i.e. "to buy," and then "to deal" in its widest sense), where the old forms have been preserved for their assonance<sup>3</sup>.

Further, לִיקַח and לִוְמַר = impff. יָקַח, יָאמַר, but other פִּא verbs form the infin. regularly.

These infinitives may, perhaps, be older than the usual BH. forms with the fem. termination ת : לִרְדֹּת, לִטְעֹת, &c. In לְתַתֵּן (1 Kings vi. 19) we have perhaps a *forma mixta* of the colloquial לִתֵּן and the literary לְתַת ; so perhaps also תַּתֵּן (1 Kings xvii. 14, in the Kethib) may be a *forma mixta* of תֵּן and תַּת. This would go to show that there was also a colloquial infin. תֵּן without the preposition.

The inf. with ל preceded by the adjective עָתִיד is sometimes used to express with emphasis the occurrence of a future act or event (the *Periphrastic Future*). It is not very common in the Mišna or in the Halakic Midrašim, and where it does occur it always expresses, in accordance with the meaning of עָתִיד, a resolve, readiness, or obligation to perform an act, or the certainty and inevitable character

<sup>1</sup> Ges.-K., §§ 51 b, 53 a.

<sup>2</sup> So Sirach xxx. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Weiss, p. 91. A similar commercial expression is אֶם הֵבַר וְאֵם יָרַר (B. Bathra, VII, 2 f.). Hoffmann in his edition points יָרַר incorrectly. The Targumic נִבְרַח וְנִבְרַח (Zach. v. 6, 7), and the Talmudic לִשְׂאֵת וּלְתַת are imitations of the MH. לִשְׂאֵת וּלְתַת. So also the Talmudic שִׂקְיָא וְשִׂקְיָא is a translation of the MH. שִׂקְיָא וְשִׂקְיָא "business." Cf. also Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen*, p. 25.

of an event<sup>1</sup>. The following are all the instances of this construction in the Mišna:—

*Demai*, VII, 1 מה שאני עתיד להפריש "what I shall have to set apart."

*Megilla*, II, 3 אם עתיד לחזור "if he is resolved, or going to return."

*Nedar.*, III, 1 כל נדר שאני עתיד לידור "every vow which I shall ever make."

*Ṭohor.*, IX, 2 אבל עתיד ללזות . . . אבל עתיד ליקח "he has finished gathering the olives but he is going to buy (more), he has finished buying but he is going to borrow (more)."

*Ibid.*, IX, 6 נהגן בבית . . . ועתיד להעלותן לגג "he put them into the house, but he is going to bring them up to the roof."

*Šekal.*, VI, 3; *Midd.*, II, 6 בו המים מפנים ועתידין להיות יוצאין "in it the waters trickle forth and in the future they shall go forth from under the threshold of the house" (cf. *Ezek.* xlvii. 12).

*Midd.*, II, 3 . . . וכך הם עתידים להיות שנאמר "and so shall they be in the future, as it is said 'And he brought me forth into the outer court'" (*Ezek.* xlvi. 21).

*Nazir*, V, 4 "if you had known שכיב"מך עתיד ליחרב that the temple was going to be destroyed"; *Sota*, V, 2; *B. Meg.*, IV, 2; *Sanh.*, X, 2; *Aboth*, III, 1; *Uḥsin*, II, 12 (a later addition).

The construction is extremely common in the later Haggadic literature with a force analogous to that of the last examples in the list above. It is also very common in the Targumim, where it is used as a rule in the same way as in MH. (e.g. *Gen.* iii. 15, 22; iv. 10; vi. 3; xv. 12, in Jonathan). But sometimes עתיד is followed in the Targum by ד and the imperf., e.g. *Isa.* xl. 2. In Syriac ܥܬܝܕ is always followed by — ܐ and the imperf.<sup>2</sup> In LH. the construction is found only once, viz. *Job* iii. 8 העתידים עירר (= לעורר) לויתן xxxii. 35. The root עתר is rare in the Bible, but it may have been common in the colloquial language of Biblical times.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Graetz, *Orient.*, 1845, col. 37, and M. Grünbaum, *Sem. Studia in memory of Kohut*, p. 230.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Payne-Smith, s. v.

## 4. THE PARTICIPLE.

In its form the MH. participle coincides exactly with the BH. participle. The feminine singular usually ends in  $\text{ת} \text{---} \text{ת}$ — as  $\text{פִּירְקָתָּהּ}$ ,  $\text{מִתְחַלֶּקֶת}$ ,  $\text{מְרַמֶּעֶת}$ . So also in BH. the fem. partic. with  $\text{ת} \text{---} \text{ת}$  is by far the more common form. Thus in a cursory examination of the first twenty-seven chapters of Genesis the writer has found fifteen examples of the form with  $\text{ת} \text{---} \text{ת}$  against hardly one with  $\text{ת} \text{---} \text{ת}$  (xx. 3  $\text{בִּפְעֻלָּתָּהּ}$  בעל<sup>1</sup>).

The fem. of  $\text{קָטַל}$ , however, and of verbs  $\text{ע"ו}$  and  $\text{ל"ה}$  always ends in  $\text{ת} \text{---} \text{ת}$ .

Here we see again how little MH. grammar was influenced by Aramaic. The analogy of Aram., which forms the fem. partic. by attaching the termination  $\text{א} \text{---} \text{ת}$ ,  $\text{י} \text{---} \text{ת}$  to the masculine, ought to have favoured the predominance in MH. of the form with  $\text{ת} \text{---} \text{ת}$ , but as a matter of fact the reverse is the case. Curiously enough the scarcity in MH. of the fem. partic. with  $\text{ת} \text{---} \text{ת}$  has also been attributed to Aram. influence (Stein, p. 28 (2)).

Already in BH. we find a few cases where the passive  $\text{קָטַל}$  is used for the active, viz. in intransitive verbs, to express an inherent quality, as  $\text{בָּטוּחַ}$ ,  $\text{יִשְׁכּוֹר}$ <sup>2</sup>, and in transitive verbs to express an act which is so constant and continuous as to become a condition and a quality of the subject, who is thus conceived to be himself influenced and acted upon by his own act<sup>3</sup>; so  $\text{אֲחֻזֵּי חֶרֶב}$  "holding swords" (Cant. iii. 8);  $\text{זִכּוֹר}$  "mindful" (Ps. ciii. 14), &c. This construction is more extensively used in Aram. and especially in Syriac<sup>4</sup>. In MH. it is not so common as in Aram., but is yet more frequent than in BH. The following is a fairly exhaustive list of examples of this usage in MH.:  $\text{מְתִינִי}$  "cautious"

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Ges.-K., § 94 d.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ges.-K., 50f.

<sup>3</sup> Otherwise Barth (*Nominalbildung*, p. 175 f.) who regards these forms as participles active derived from the *u* imperfect.

<sup>4</sup> Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 280.

(*Aboth*, I, 1); שָׁקֵד "watchful, diligent" (*ibid.*, II, 14); רְבוּצִים "lying" (*Bekor.*, IX, 7); טְבִילַת יוֹם, טְבִיל יוֹם "one who has bathed but has to wait for sunset in order to become pure" (*Tohor.*, II, 1 and *Tebul Yom*, *passim*). The common form סָבִיר "thinking" is an adaptation of the Aram. כְּבִיר.

In transitive verbs: מְקַבֵּל "having been made the recipient of a tradition" (*Pea*, II, 6, &c.; cf. *Aboth*, I, 1 מִי שֶׁקָּבַל); נָשׂוּי "married" (*Yebam.*, XIII, 7, &c.), i. e. "in condition of being married," but the act of marrying is always expressed by the active הִנְשִׂיא בָנִים; חִשְׁתִּי בְגָדִים "lacking garments" (*Kelim*, I, 2); שְׂתוּי יוֹ "men who are in a state of having drunk wine"<sup>2</sup>; שֶׁלֹא רָחַץ יָדָיו וְרַגְלָיו "one who is in a state of not having washed his hands and feet"<sup>3</sup> (*Kel.*, I, 9; *Para*, IV, 1); תְּפִסְתִּי מַעֲשֵׂי אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם בְּיָדֵיהֶם "holding the acts of their fathers in their hands," i. e. conducting themselves as their fathers did (*Sifra*, ed. Weiss, fol. 112 b). So perhaps in the phrase כָּפְּוִי טוֹבָה "ungrateful" (pl. כָּפְּוִי טוֹבָה), if, as appears to the writer, it means "repressing, withholding thanks"<sup>4</sup>.

The other examples adduced by Hillel (*op. cit.*, p. 22), are true passives: שָׁקֵל "balanced" = even; תָּלִי "hanged" = hanging<sup>5</sup>; שָׁלִיף "stripped of the skin"; שָׁחֹל "suspended" = falling. In *B. Bathra*, 2 b point נָפֹל not נָפַל. The Munich cod. actually has נִפְּוֹל (*Dikd. Soferim*, ad loc.).

So also חֲלוּצָה cited by Weiss (p. 90 (8) Obs.) is conceived in MH. as a true passive, while the person whose shoe was drawn off is conceived everywhere in MH. as active, חֲלוּץ, e. g. *Yebam.*, IV, 1, 7, 8, &c.; cf. IV, 5, 6 אוֹרֵךְ אוֹרֵךְ אוֹרֵךְ (imperative), &c.

The *Negative* usually employed with the participle in MH. is אֵין, just as in BH., but frequently לֹא is used, whenever it is intended to impart a certain emphasis to the

<sup>1</sup> In Mediaeval Hebrew סָקֵב means "having been initiated into the Kabbala," a "Kabbalist."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lev. x. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ex. xxx. 10 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Aboda Z.*, IV, 3. The etymology given by Levy and Kohut is improbable; cf. also Jastrow.

<sup>5</sup> So הלוי, Josh. x. 4.

negation. This happens either when the negative follows immediately upon an affirmative<sup>1</sup>, or when two or more negatives follow each other. In the first case ולא has the force of "but not," and in the second case ולא...לא means "neither...nor..." The participial clause thus negated contains as a rule no other words but the participle.

1. *Bikk.*, I, 1, 3, 4 יש מביאין בכורים וקורין מביאין ולא קורין "there are some who bring first-fruits and recite, some who bring but do not recite<sup>2</sup>."

*Šabb.*, XI, 2 מושיטין... אבל לא זורקין "one may hand the boards... but not throw them."

*Yebam.*, III, 1 ff. הרי אלו חולצות ולא מתקבצות "lo, these perform the *ḥuliṣa* but are not to be taken in wedlock by the levir"; cf. VI, 1; VII, 4; X, 8, 9; XI, 4, 6, and *Sota*, I, 2.

*Ibid.*, III, 6 אינדינוס נישא אבל לא נישא "the *ἀνδρόγευρος* may marry a wife but must not be married to a husband"; cf. *Sanh.*, VII, 5.

*Šebu'oth*, VII, 1 נשבעין ולא משלמין "they take the oath but are free from payment."

*Hullin*, I, 7 תוקעין ולא מבדילין "the trumpet is blown (as a signal for stopping work) but no *habdala* is recited"; so following מבדילין ולא תוקעין. Contrast with the negatives אין at the beginning of the section in non-emphatic negation or in longer clauses.

2. *Terum.*, I, 2 חרש המדבר ואינו שומע "the deaf who can speak," the negative not being emphatic, but following ואינו לא שומע ולא מְדַבֵּר "who can neither hear nor speak."

*Pesah.*, I, 5 תולין לא אוכלין ולא שורפין "they are in suspense: neither may they eat (the leavened bread), nor need they burn it."

*Beṣa*, II, 8 אין מקרדין... אבל מקרצפין וחכמים אומרים אין מקרדים "one may not comb a beast on the festival with an iron comb, but one may do so with a wooden comb. The Sages say one may not comb with an iron comb neither may one comb with a wooden comb." Cf. further V, 2; *Yebam.*, VII, 5; VIII, 4, 5; XI, 2 לא חולצים ולא מיבמים (contrast with XI, 5, 7 in longer clauses); *Sota*, IV, 1, 2, 3; *Maccoth*, III, 13; *Eduyoth*, V, 2 ||

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Geiger, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> The section in Deut. xxvi. 5-10.

*Hullin*, VIII, 1; *Temura*, IV, 1; *Me'ila*, III, 1 ff. (contrast with III, 3 *אין מועלים בהם*); *Nega'im*, X, 4; *Nidda*, VI, 1.

3. The two cases side by side, *B. Bathra*, VIII, 1; *Horayoth*, III, 5 *כה"ג מקריב אגן ולא אוכל וההדיוט לא מקריב ולא אוכל* 'the High Priest may offer sacrifices on the day of the death of a near kinsman but may not eat of the sacrifice, while the ordinary priest may not offer a sacrifice nor eat of one'; *Arakin*, VII, 4; *Ohol*, VIII, 1; *Mikwaoth*, VII, 1; *Ukṣin*, I, 1.

In longer clauses the participle is negated by *אין*, e. g. *Me'ila*, I, 3; . . . *אין מועלים בהם ואין חיבים עליהם משום* "one does not incur *Me'ila* by using them nor is one guilty in their case of . . ."; *Arakin*, II, 6; *Ketub.*, V, 5.

The following are the exceptions to the above rules met with in the Mišna: *לא* used to negative a longer clause; *Ketub.*, VII, 6; *Nedarim*, IV, 5; cf. *Aboth*, II, 16; *Arakin*, II, 3; VII, 1; cf. also *Aboth*, V, 14. In *Ab. Z.*, II, 5 read with N. and C. *לא נהנין ולא מועלין*.

In BH., too, numerous cases are found of participles negated by *לא*<sup>2</sup>, but very few of them can be regarded as emphatic negations. The usual explanation of such constructions on the analogy of *לא עם*<sup>3</sup> (Deut. xxxii. 21) is hardly applicable to passages like Deut. xxviii. 61; Hab. i. 14; Job xii. 3, xxix. 12; or to 2 Sam. iii. 34; Ezek. iv. 14, where the participle, being parallel to a finite verb, is evidently used with a verbal force. We have obviously, in these constructions, whether in BH. or in MH., an extension of the use of the general negative *לא* to cases regularly negated by *אין* without in the least implying a weakening of the nominal character of the participle. Considering also the restrictions, enumerated above, under which *לא* is used with the participle in MH., it will become

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gen. xxxv. 18 (אין); Lam. iii. 39.

<sup>2</sup> All the cases are collected and classified by E. Sellin, *Über die verbal-nominale Doppelnatur d. hebr. Participium u. Infinitive*, p. 27, and by J. Kahane in his dissertation with the same title, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Driver to Deut. iv. 42, also *Tenses*<sup>2</sup>, § 162 footnote.

clear that it would be wrong to adduce this construction as evidence that the participle had become in MH. a mere verb just as in Aramaic.

This also applies to the *Position of the Subject* of a participial predicate. The subject whether pronoun or noun is sometimes placed in MH., as in BH.<sup>1</sup>, after the participle, but only as a rule when special emphasis is to be placed on the participle, so that the act rather than its subject is uppermost in the speaker's mind, and is thus placed first in accordance with the general custom in Hebrew. Gradually this order of words was extended also to cases where the emphasis is faint or even entirely absent, especially in very common and colloquial phrases.

The following is a classified list of passages in the Mišna in which the participle precedes its subject:—

(1) With a noun as the subject:

*Halla*, I, 8 וְיִצֵּא בָּהּ אָדָם יְדֵי חֻבּוֹתוֹ “one *may* fulfil with it one's obligation,” opposed to the following וְאִין אָדָם יִצֵּא.

*Šabb.*, V, 1 “wherewith may a beast go out and wherewith may it not go out?” וְיִצֵּא הַגִּמְלָה “the camel *may* go out . . .”; so *Eduy.*, II, 7.

*Beša*, III, 8 אָדָם אוֹמֵר “a man *may* say,” opposed to לֹא יֵאמָר אָדָם in the preceding paragraph; so הוֹלֵךְ אָדָם and IV, 6, 7; *Šabb.*, XXI, 1; XXIII, 1; *Ketub.*, II, 4, 10; *Nazir*, II, 2; *Sota*, III, 4; *Kidduš*, IV, 12 מִתִּיחַד אָדָם “a man *may* be alone,” opposed to the preceding . . . לֹא יִתִּיחַד.

*B. Meš.*, V, 6, 8, 10; VII, 5 אוֹכֵל פּוֹעֵל קִישּׁוֹת “a workman *may* eat cucumbers,” opposed to the following לֹא יֵאכֵל פּוֹעֵל (VII, 6).

*Aboth*, III, 14 חַבִּיב אָדָם, חַבִּיבֵּן יִשְׂרָאֵל, &c.; VI, 7 נְדוּלָה תּוֹרָה; *Bekor.*, V, 5; *Kerith.*, VI, 3.

So usually in the common phrases חַיֵּב אָדָם “one is bound” (*Berak.*, IX, 5, &c.)<sup>2</sup>; צָרִיךְ אָדָם “one must” (*Šabb.*, II, 7, &c.);

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 135 (4). So also in Phoenician: קָרָא אִיך, קָרָא אִיך, Cooke, op. cit., No. 3. 1, 2, 3, and the note p. 21 f.

<sup>2</sup> But *Bekor.*, IV, 1: יִשְׂרָאֵל הַכֹּהֵנִים as the subject is emphatic: the Israelite as opposed to the priest.

ומודים חכמים "the Sages admit" (*Pea*, III, 2; *Ketub.*, II, 2; *B. Bathra*, V, 2; *Horay.*, I, 2, &c.).

(2) With a pronoun as the subject:

*Šabb.*, III, 5 לחובו הוא נותן אבל לא יתן לחובו צונן "one may not put into it cold water but one *may* put into it . . .," so below.

*Erubin*, IV, 2 אָפֶם מוֹפְתִים לָהֶם לֵאמֹר לִירֵד אֵמַר "may we go down?"<sup>1</sup> He said to them, You *may*"; *Pesah.*, II, 7 (אבל שפה הוא) (לא תשרה); *Beša*, II, 1.

*Ketub.*, II, 5, 6 נִשְׁבַּחְתִּי וְנִהְוָה אֲנִי "I was indeed taken captive, but I have remained chaste"; IX, 5; *Nedar.*, IV, 4; XI, 7, 12; *Sota*, I, 5; III, 5 (טמאות הן), III, 6; IV, 2; *Eduy.*, VIII, 2; *Horay.*, I, 4.

So also with the common participle יָכוֹל which is generally emphatic: *Ketub.*, VII, 10 (*bis*, very instructive!); XIII, 5, 6, 8, 9<sup>2</sup>; *Sota*, IV, 2; *Kidduš.*, III, 13.

In some of the following passages the emphasis on the participle is hardly noticeable: *Berak.*, V, 5 יֹרֵעַ אֲנִי<sup>3</sup> (instructive!); *Nedar.*, XI, 7 (*bis*); *Nazir*, II, 4; *Nidda*, V, 6; מְקוּבֵּל אֲנִי "I am in possession of a tradition," *Pea*, II, 6; *Yebam.*, XVI, 7; *Eduy.*, VIII, 7; *Yadaim*, IV, 3; רֹאָה אֲנִי<sup>4</sup> "I prefer," *Kilaim*, II, 11; *R. Hašana*, II, 8; *Ketub.*, XIII, 3, 4, 5; *Šebu'oth*, VI, 3; *Aboth*, II, 9 (2).

תִּפְּוָה אֲנִי "I am astonished," *B. Meš.*, VI, 8; *Kerith.*, IV, 3.

זָכוֹר אֲנִי<sup>5</sup> "I remember," *Ketub.*, II, 10; *Kidduš.*, IV, 14 (בְּנִיח); *Maccoth*, I, 1 ff.; *Šebu'oth*, IV, 1 ff.; *Arakin*, IV, 2 (אוֹמֵר); *Makširin*, I, 4 (2); *Yadaim*, IV, 3 (קוֹבֵעַ אֶתָּה)<sup>7</sup>, IV, 6 f.

Note also the following passages where the pronoun הוא placed after the predicate anticipates the subject proper<sup>8</sup>: *Aboth*, II, 14,

<sup>1</sup> Literally: "What are we in respect of going down?" cf. *Tenses*, § 205.

<sup>2</sup> With omission of the pronoun הוא. Cf. the very common technical expression — יכול ש—, which stands for — יכול אני לזכר ש—.

<sup>3</sup> So *Koh.* viii. 12.

<sup>4</sup> So *Gen.* xxxi. 5.

<sup>5</sup> In later style contracted, after Aramaic fashion, to זכרתי, *Talm. b. Šabb.*, 115 a, &c.

<sup>6</sup> So *Ps.* xlv. 2 by which the statement in *Tenses*, § 135 (4) Obs., is to be corrected.

<sup>7</sup> A reminiscence of *Malachi* iii. 8.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. on this idiom below, p. 84.

16: ונאמן הוא בעל מלאכתך "and faithful is he, even thy employer"; *Para*, X, 5 אבל עומד הוא הטהור; XII, 5 אוחז הוא הטהור "the clean man may stand, hold."

The contraction of the participle and the following אני into one word is sometimes found in Midrašim and in late MH. style generally, probably under the influence of Aramaic, in which this contraction takes place with the personal pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons both singular and plural<sup>1</sup>. Such contracted forms never occur in the Misna. The instances quoted by previous writers rest on incorrect texts. For חוששני (*Šabb.*, XXII, 3) C. reads חושש אני "I fear<sup>2</sup>," while N. has, wrongly, חושד אני "I suspect." For נזרני (*R. Hašana*, II, 9) both N. and C. read נזר אני ("I decree"), and for מקובלני (*Yebam.*, XVI, 7; *Yada.*, IV, 2) both these texts have מוקבל אני. So also *Nedar.*, I, 1 for מורדני . . . מופרשני . . . מרוחקני these two texts have . . . מורד אני . . . מופרש אני . . . מרוחק אני.

The substantive verb היה when combined with the participle is treated, in respect to its position, similarly to the personal pronoun. As a rule it precedes the participle, but the latter sometimes stands first for the sake of emphasis or in familiar expression.

*Pea*, II, 4 נהגין היו בית אבא "my father's house were accustomed," modifying the preceding statement; so *Šabb.*, I, 9; *Sukka*, II, 1; III, 9 (צופה הייתי).

*Ketub.*, II, 3 "this is our handwriting אבל אנוסים היינו קטנים . . . היינו but we were forced, we were minors, we were disqualified for evidence."

*Ibid.*, II, 5 "if a woman says אינני נשואה אני I was, indeed, a married woman but am now divorced." VII, 10 סבורה הייתי "I had thought"; *Kidduš.*, II, 5; *Nazir*, II, 4; *B. Meš.*, I, 7; *Kerith.*, IV, 2 . . . פוטרני היה ר' יהושע אף . . . "R. J. acquitted him even . . ."; *Me'ila*, III, 7 מנהגן היה מנהג זקנים contradicting the previous statement; *Para*, XII, 4. So also in BH. for the sake of emphasis: *Exod.* xxvii. 1, xxviii. 16; *Deut.* ix. 7, 22, 24; *Josh.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 64; Dalman, § 65.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly, *Dan.* i. 10 ירא אני.

v. 5; Ezek. xvi. 22, xxvi. 13, xlv. 2 (contr. xlv. 1); Zeph. ii. 4; Ps. lxxix. 9, cxxii. 2, &c. This order is also common in Aram., cf. Dan. ii. 31, 34, iii. 8, iv. 7, 10, 12, 13, 26, vi. 2, vii. 8, &c. (contr. ii. 20, 43, v. 19, 29, vi. 27, &c.). Ezra iv. 12, 22, v. 8, vi. 6 (contr. vi. 9, 10, vii. 25, 26), and often in the Targumim and in the other dialects.

The participle is sometimes used as a complement to another verb, where we should normally expect the infinitive with ל. Thus after התחיל, *Pesah.*, I, 5 העם שורפין "all the people began to burn"; *Ta'anith*, I, 4 התחילו היחידים מתענין "individuals began to fast"; *Tamid*, II, 2, 3: החלו מעלים VI, 1, 3; *Nega'im*, VII, 4. But also with the infin., *Šekal.*, I, 3 התחילו לשקל "they began to pay the *Šekel*," "they began to seize pledges for the *Šekel*," and elsewhere.

The nearest approach to this use of the participle to be found in BH. is the expression החלו בהות (1 Sam. iii. 2). Note also החל רש (Deut. ii. 24), החל גרלך (Joshua iii. 7). In the Aramaic of the Targumim תְּחִי "to begin," is usually construed with the infinitive with ל; cf., for example, Gen. vi. 1; x. 8, and the above passages in the Targumim; but occasionally also with the participle. So Deut. i. 5 in Onkelos שרי משה פריש for the Hebrew הוֹאֵל . . . בַּיָּר, but *Targ. Jon.* has <sup>1</sup>למלפא. In Syriac, however, ܬܚܝ is regularly followed by the participle; cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, p. 214 (bottom, Engl. tr.).

The participle is also found after נוהגין in *Pea*, II, 4 נוהגין היו " . . . to give<sup>2</sup>"; but *Šabb.*, I, 9 שהיו נוהגין " . . . to give"; so *Suk.*, II, 1. After נמנע, *Yebam.*, I, 3 נמנעו עושין<sup>3</sup> "they did not shrink from preparing," beside נמנעו מלישא (N. לישא); cf. also the parallel passage in *Eduy.*, IV, 8.

After the noun שדרך בני אדם שוכבים, *Berak.*, I, 3 ובשעה שדרך ב"א עומדים "at the hour when it is the custom of men to lie down . . . to rise up<sup>1</sup>"; *B. Bathra*, VI, 6; *Sanh.*, VII, 2 דרך כל המומתין מתורין "it is the custom of all those about to be put to death to make a confession"; *Nidda*, II, 1. But the infinitive with ל is more common, e.g. *Berak.*, I, 2

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Levy, *Chald. W.B.*, s. v. שרי.

<sup>2</sup> This is the reading of N. and C.

<sup>3</sup> But N. has ל' מלישא.

<sup>4</sup> For this sense of עָרַר in late Hebrew, cf. *LOT.*<sup>6</sup>, p. 507, No. 16.

... שכן דרך בני מלכים לעמוד "for thus it is the custom of princes to rise up at the third hour of the day"; *Nedar.*, VIII, 5, 6, &c.

After קונם <sup>1</sup> *Nedar.*, I, 4 . . . קונם פי מדבר עמך, &c. "*Konem* that my mouth speak not with thee, that my hand work not with thee, that my foot walk not with thee," II, 2, 4; III, 2; VII, 3. Contrast II, 1 מאכלך שאני מדבר שאני מהלך; III, 11, &c.

The participle is sometimes used in apposition to the subject or object with the force of a circumstantial clause. Thus:—

'*Orla*, II, 12 המורה עומד בשער המורה "I asked R. G. while he was standing in the East gate<sup>2</sup>." *Nega'im*, VII, 4 שאלתי את ר"ג ואת ר"י הולכין "I asked R. G. and R. J. while they were going<sup>3</sup>."

*Yoma*, VII, 1 וקורא עומד; *Sota*, VII, 8 וקורא יושב; *Terum.*, II, 3 המטביל כלים בשבת שונג ישתמש בהם מזיד לא ישתמש בהם "he that bathes vessels on the Sabbath unwittingly he may use them, wittingly he must not use them"; cf. also the following clauses: *Ketub.*, IX, 6 (משמשתו נדה); *Gittin*, V, 4; *Halla*, II, 3, 7 (ערומה); *Maccoth*, III, 2 (טמא); *Ab. Z.*, IV, 10<sup>4</sup>; *Nega'im*, VII, 3 (מתחבן); *Sifra*, 94 c (אם זינת פנויה); further, *Pea*, III, 7 מרע הכותב נכסיו שכיב מרע "if one assigns his property when ill"; *B. Kam.*, VIII, 6 שָׁמְרָה עומדת "he watched her as she was standing"; *Menahoth*, V, 7 טעונים כמיכה חיים ותנופה שחוטים "they require laying on the hands when alive and waving when slain." But contrast XI, 7 אוכלין אותן כשהוא חי "the Babylonians eat it raw"<sup>5</sup>; *Kiddus.*, II, 1 כשהיא נערה<sup>6</sup>, and often elsewhere.

The same idea is expressed also with ב *essentiae* attached to the participle: בלא מתכוון "when not intentional" (*Erub.*, IV, 4); בשונג, במזיד (*Kiddus.*, II, 8, &c. &c.), or by a full circumstantial clause: והם מגולים "they being uncovered" (*Ma'aseroth*, V, 2); והן נהגין זה עם זה "being uttered both together" (*Sabb.*, XII, 4; XVII, 1; *Ketub.*, VII, 8, &c.). Such a clause is sometimes attached ἀσπερδεντως לא בזה כרי להחמיין "there being in neither sufficient to cause fermentation" (*Orla*, II, 11, 14, 15).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. on this word Cooke, op. cit., p. 33 f.

<sup>2</sup> C. actually reads עומד והוא.

<sup>3</sup> But N. C. read בהליכך with ב *essentiae*; cf. also *Sifra* (ed. Weiss), 61 a.

<sup>4</sup> According to some edd., cf. above, p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Onkelos, Lev. xvi. 10 יהיה כר היי for the Hebrew יהיה and often.

<sup>6</sup> Sirach xxx. 12 a כשהיא קטן.

Weiss (p. 89)<sup>1</sup> states that the participle preceded by one of the prefixed prepositions ב, כ, ל is widely used in M.H. in the place of the infinitive. But this rests on a misapprehension. Forms like לשומרם, לדורכן are ordinary infinitives written *plene* = לשמרם, לדרכן<sup>2</sup>. Such forms are often found in the better texts without the vowel letter, e.g. for לשחוקן N. and C. have לשחקן "to wear them out" (*B. Mes.*, II, 8, &c.).

Forms like בעומדין, ביושבין are participles with the ב *essentiae* mentioned above: "as sitting ones," "as standing ones," i.e. "whether standing or sitting" (*Zabim*, III, 2). So also in בידוע . . . בשאינו ידוע<sup>3</sup> "as known . . . as not known," i.e. "when known . . . and when not known" (*Terum.*, IV, 8). In the phrase בנותן טעם we have a standing *technical* expression to which ב has been prefixed without, however, impairing thereby the participial force of נותן. The significance of the ב varies with the context. Thus in *Halla*, III, 10 (אוסר) בנותן טעם "*Tibet* renders a food prohibited by adding to it a flavour," the ב has an instrumental significance. So in *Terum.*, X, 1; *Ab. Z.*, V, 8 (where it is parallel to אוסר בכל שהוא "by anything"), and *Hullin*, VII, 5. On the other hand in the expression אם י"ט בו בנותן טעם (*Nedar.*, VI, 6; *Ab. Z.*, V, 2; and *Hullin*, VII, 4) the ב seems to have the force of ב *essentiae*.

The same construction is found with the *technical* and invariable expression בכונס משקה "by taking in a liquid" (*Kelim*, VIII, 2) parallel to בויתים "by (measured) by olives" and במיטקים, i.e. with ב *instrumenti*. But in היו בכונס משקה (*ibid.*, X, 8) we have the ב *essentiae*; so, probably, in *Ohol.*, V, 2 ונקובה בכונס מיטקה "having a hole large enough to take in a liquid."

Similarly, *Ohol.*, XIII, 1 fl. בפותח טפה (שיעורו) "its measure is by an open space of a hand-breadth" (cf. VI, 5 fl.) with ב *instrumenti*.

In כחם (*Šabb.*, II, 5) the ב is used pleonastically; cf. *Yuda'im*, IV, 2 אתה כממחזק מומן ואין אתה אלא כממפסיד נפשות "thou art benefiting them with money but art really losing sou's"; הרני כמשיב על טרפון אחי "lo, I am answering Tarphon my brother";

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Driver, *Tenses*<sup>6</sup>, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Geiger, *Jüd. Zeitschrift*, 1867, p. 175; Stein, p. 27 (3) and footnote.

<sup>3</sup> Or the expression is perhaps abbreviated from ידוע . . . בשאינו ידוע.

so also commonly in late MH. with סבורים, סבור, &c. (*Kidd.*, III, 5); cf. also the expression בכיכול, the redundant use of the ל in לכשאפנה (*Aboth*, II, 4), לכשתבא, לכתחלה, &c.<sup>1</sup>

This pleonastic use of כ is already found in BH., Ps. cv. 12 (כמעט); Lam. i. 20 (כמות); Isa. lix. 18 (בעל), &c.

Like Aram., MH. regularly combines the *partic. with* היה whenever it desires to express the iteration of an act in the past or in the future, or its continuity through a longer or shorter period, the combination thus taking the place of the frequentative and iterative uses of the old perfect consecutive and of the simple tenses. The construction in MH. is, however, of native origin and not borrowed from the Aramaic. Already in BH. the *partic.* is construed with the substantive verb<sup>2</sup> not only when used in a quasi-nominal capacity (e.g. Gen. iv. 2; Deut. ix. 7; Isa. iii. 7 in the imperative; Ps. x. 14, and especially with passive participles which are treated almost like adjectives: 1 Kings x. 9; Deut. xxviii. 33, 34; Isa. ii. 2; Zeph. ii. 4), but also when the *partic.* has a purely verbal force (e.g. of the past: Judges i. 7; 2 Sam. iii. 7, viii. 15; Jer. xxvi. 18, 20; 2 Kings xvii. 32, 33; of the future: Gen. i. 6; Deut. xxviii. 29<sup>3</sup>; Isa. xxx. 20; with passive participles: Jer. xviii. 23; Ezek. xlv. 2, xlv. 1; Zech. xiii. 1). This is especially the case in the late books. Thus Neh. i. 4, ii. 13, 15, iii. 2 b, v. 18, vi. 14, 19, xiii. 5, 22; 2 Chron. xxx. 10; Dan. viii. 5, 7, x. 2; Esther ii. 7, 15, and with להיות (a genuine MH. construction), i. 22, viii. 13, ix. 21. The construction may have been even more common in the popular dialect in which the consecutive tenses seem to have been employed but sparingly<sup>4</sup>. This is supported by the special frequency of the construction in the Memoirs of Nehemiah which,

<sup>1</sup> כּי (or כּוּי) does not belong here. The כּ is a radical which suffered aphaeresis in BH., cf. Barth, *Etymol. Studien*, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Tenses*, § 135 (5), and, with fuller lists, Sellin, *op. cit.*, p. 35. and Kahan, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Note the parallels יִרְשָׁשׁ and הַצִּלִּיה.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, p. 37.

being primarily intended for private use, were but little influenced by the literary tradition, and therefore approached most nearly to the actually spoken Hebrew of the day. With the complete disappearance of the consecutive perfect in MH., and the tendency which this idiom displays to confine the simple tenses to the expression of *single* acts in the past and future respectively, the regular employment of the participle as a frequentative and iterative became a necessity. But the participle, being incapable, owing to its nominal character, of expressing any relation of time, has to be accompanied, wherever possible<sup>1</sup>, by the auxiliary verb in order to indicate the time in which the act expressed by the participle occurs. The same construction is also regularly employed in modern Arabic<sup>2</sup>, and is therefore a characteristic common to all those Semitic dialects in a late stage of their development which had been capable at an earlier period of developing the verbal faculty of their participles<sup>3</sup>. That in none of these dialects is the construction found so early and so extensively as in the Aram., is due simply to the fact that of all the Semitic languages Aram. was, with the exception, perhaps, of Assyrian, the first to reach its decline and to suffer the disintegration of its inflexional system and its primitive syntax. It must, of course, be conceded that the example of Aram. exercised a potent influence upon the development of the construction in MH.; but, on the other hand, there is no doubt whatever, considering the BH. instances referred to above, that Hebrew, even more than Arabic, would have developed the construction even without any external aid whatever. All that Aram. influence could have done was to hasten the extension and firm establishment of an already existing native construction to the exclusion of other and older modes of expression.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. in the preterite, future and imperative, but not in the present, e.g. בָּרַךְ, בְּרַכְּךָ (Berak., I, 1); so קֹהֵן i. 4 קֹהֵן, &c., &c.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Spitta, §§ 109 e, 166.

<sup>3</sup> It does not occur in Ethiopic, as the participle of this language had early become fossilized into a real noun. Cf. Dillmann, § 123.

On the other hand it is worthy of note that the tenses are never found in MH. combined with היה as, occasionally, in the Targumim (e.g. Gen. iv. 1 (Jon.) רהוה חמדת ; Cant. i. 12 הוה נפק)<sup>1</sup>, and very frequently in Syriac (Nöld., *Syr. Gr.*, §§ 263, 268) and in Arabic (Wright, *Ar. Gr.*<sup>3</sup>, II, § 3 (c)); also once in Phoenician, בן נדר (Cooke, op. cit., No. 37, l. 5), evidently because there is nothing in BH. approaching such a use of the tenses<sup>2</sup>. We see, therefore, that Aram. was incapable of forcing upon MH. anything which was foreign to the nature of Hebrew as exemplified in the Biblical books.

### 5. THE WEAK VERBS.

Of the verbs which have a weak letter as their *first* radical none exhibit any notable variations from the BH. types except in the infinitive discussed above (p. 39 f.). The inflexion of the other weak verbs also generally runs on BH. lines even where MH. seems to differ from the normal forms of BH. Aramaic influence is noticeable here and there, but only as accentuating and extending forms already existing in Hebrew. In many cases, however, MH. pursued its own course unaffected by Aram. influence. Thus in verbs ע"ע Aram. usually has the contracted forms, except in the Ethpe'el<sup>3</sup>. The natural affinity of these verbs with verbs ו"ע is preserved and accentuated much more strongly in Aram. than in the other Semitic languages. BH., on the other hand, as also the other Semitic languages, shows a tendency to make these verbs approximate to the standard type of the strong triliteral verb, and hence exhibits a large number of augmented forms on the analogy of the strong verb. This tendency is carried still further by MH. It has indeed preserved a considerable number of biliteral

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Winer, § 4. 5, 1. The scarcity of this construction in the Targumim is due to Hebrew influence.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. König, *Syntax*, § 122.

<sup>3</sup> Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 178; Winer, § 19. The augmented forms enumerated by Dalman (§ 71) are all much later than MH.

forms, as, e.g., יחוף (> חפף), יבור (> ברר), לכוס (> כסס), למור (> מדר), and so exclusively in the causative stems: להקל (*Makšir.*, III, 4), הוחמו (*Šabb.*, III, 4), ייצן (*Ab. Z.*, III, 9), מייסב (*Sanh.*, II, 1), מייסך (*Erub.*, X, 8); also in the Niph'al: יחמו (*Šabb.*, III, 5), <sup>1</sup>ליהם (*Kelim*, XIV, 1), נמקו (*Bikk.*, I, 6)<sup>2</sup>; but more commonly we find the trilateral forms, e.g. רקקה (*Yebam.*, XII, 2), צררן (*B. Mes.*, III, 10), לחצין, למרור (*Beša.*, IV, 6), לגרור (*Šabb.*, XVII, 2) and so normally in the Niph'al; להבלל (*M. Seni.*, II, 5), לימו (*B. Kam.*, IX, 1), נקצו (*Bikk.*, I, 6), נגדרת, נגררין (*Beša.*, II, 10), יקצו (*Nid.*, II, 1), נקק (*Neg.*, V, 4, 5)<sup>3</sup>. So also the participles of the Kāl, which are never found with biliteral forms. In the intensive stems, too, the trilateral form is the regular one, as often in BH.<sup>4</sup>, e.g. מַחֲלֵל, מַנְפֵּף, מְוַנֵּק. But instead of Pi'el, the Pilpel is very common: מְפַרֵּר, מְסַלֵּס, &c. The Po'el, however, is very rare (e.g. in elevated diction: יְחַנְּנֵנוּ יסובבו, *Sota*, IX, 15)<sup>5</sup>. The Hithpo'el is found in the common word נִתְרוּעַע "to become worse" (cf. Isa. xxiv. 19), and in מִשְׁתַּחֲמִים<sup>6</sup> (Isa. lix. 16). In the perfect Hiph'il occurs the form הִקְלַת, traditionally pronounced הִפְלֵת, for BH. הִקְלוּת; cf. BH. הִתְלַתָּ (Judges xvi. 10). So also in the ע"ו form הִעֲרַתָּ (*Yebam.*, VII, 3) as in BH. הִנְפַּתָּ. These forms are evidently due to the analogy of the strong verb.

Other noteworthy points in the MII. treatment of ע"ו verbs are the following: in the Niph'al the preformative נ is pointed נִ, obviously through the analogy of the strong verb, e.g. נִיצוּק (*Yada.*, IV, 7), נִיוַחַת (*Ketub.*, XI, 1), נִיעוּר (*Aboth*, III, 4)<sup>7</sup>, נִילוּשַׁת (*Menah.*, XI, 1), נִירָן (*Sanh.*, VIII, 6);

<sup>1</sup> With elision of the formative ה, cf. above, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup> cited by Stein (p. 39) may be from הִישָׁהוּ (*Koh.* ii. 25) and not from חִשָּׁהוּ.

<sup>3</sup> In BH. the biliteral form only is found in the Niph'al.

<sup>4</sup> Ges.-K., § 67 u, end.

<sup>5</sup> A later addition not found in N.

<sup>6</sup> In the historical Baraita *Kidduš.*, 66a noticed above, p. 30, note 2.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Zech. ii. 17, also נִכִּיל Gen. xvii. 26 f.; see Ges.-K., § 72 cc.

but also נָרַן (*B. Kam.*, II, 5; *Yada.*, IV, 3, &c.; cf. 2 Sam. xix. 10), קָלַח (*Kilaim*, IX, 8, BH.).

The Hiph'il imperfect אֹבֵן (*Ab. Z.*, III, 5) seems to be a metaplastic form for אִבֵּן; cf. in BH. בָּרַשׁ הוֹבִישׁ<sup>1</sup>. For הוֹבִירָה "he caused it to lie fallow" (> בֹּרַר, *B. Mes.*, IX, 3; *'Arak.*, IX, 1) both C. and N. read correctly הַבִּירָה הוֹשִׁיבוּ (> שֹׁב, *Tosefta Sota*, I) cited by Stein (p. 44) is no doubt a scribal error for הַשִּׁיבוּ. So אֹחִיל (> חוֹל, *Sifré*, Num. vi. 26) is an error for אַחִיל, caused by the following אֹלִיד.

In the intensive stem occur all the three formations found in BH., thus Pil'el: נַחְמוּטָט, עוֹרֵר (rather rare); Pilpel: בִּלְבַּל, נִמְנַם, מִטְמַטֵּם; and Pi'el proper: קָיַב<sup>2</sup> (BH.), קָיַם (BH., *Sirach* xlii. 23), קָיַן, קָיַנָה, קָיַנְתִּי, &c.

The last-mentioned formation is generally considered to have been borrowed by late BH. from Aramaic. But without entering upon the vexed question as to the original character of the עָזַז verbs, it must be remembered that the same formation is found in other Semitic languages also beside Aram. and late Hebrew. Why should not קָיַם and קָיַן be just as original in Hebrew as قَامَ in Arabic? That earlier Hebrew possessed the power of converting the vocalic middle radical into a hard consonant is shown by the cognate nouns אָזַן, מָזַת, &c., and by the uncontracted verbs like רוּחַ, עֹזֵר, עֹזֶה which, as König shows<sup>3</sup>, belonged originally to the same class as the contracted verbs, the hardness of the *waw* being caused by the presence of other weak letters in the root. It would therefore be but reasonable to expect that, with the gradual disappearance of the Polel conjugation and with the increasing tendency of adapting the weak verb to the standard of קָטַל, the Hebrew language itself and unaided should make use of its power to harden the middle radical in order to provide itself with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bacher, *Terminologie*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> The קָל occurs in an old Mišna, *B. Kam.*, I, 12 and elsewhere. For the weakening of the *waw* into *yod* cf. יָדַר from יָדַר, &c.; also Syriac ܩܠܩ pronounced *qayem*, and vulg. Arabic *qáyil* for *qá'il*, *bāyi* for *bā'i*, Spitta, § 105 e.

<sup>3</sup> *Lehrgebäude*, I, p. 452 f.

a Pi'el of ו"ע after the analogy of the strong verb. It may even be assumed that such forms had existed in the vernacular long before they made their appearance in literature<sup>1</sup>, and that from the vernacular they descended directly into MH.

The close affinity between the *verbs* א"ל and *verbs* ל"ה caused already in BH. a frequent interchange of forms between these two classes and a general unsettlement of their respective types. This becomes more pronounced in MH., and so we meet with forms like קִרִּין (but also קִרְאִים)<sup>2</sup>, מִקְרִין (*Bikk.*, III, 7), מִמְרִין (= מִמְרְאִין "to fatten," *Šabb.*, XXIV, 3); מְצוּי, קְרוּי, so always in the singular; לְקִרְוֹת<sup>3</sup> (*Berak.*, I, 1), יִצְחָה or the *forma mixta* יִצְחָה<sup>4</sup> beside יִצְחָה, מְרַפְּאִין, מְצִינִי, נִמְצִינוּ, &c. The Pi'el, however, is regular מְרַפְּאִין, מְצִינִי, &c., except in the infinitive, which is generally a *forma mixta*; לְמַלְאֹת, לְרַפְּאוֹתוּ (cf. Ges.-K., 74 *h*). Cases of ל"ה verbs taking א"ל forms are not so frequent. Examples are: the feminine of the participle נִפְחִית, נִפְחִיתָ<sup>5</sup> (= נִפְלֵאת, Deut. xxx. 11; נִקְרֵאת, *Megilla*, I, 1, &c.), and by analogy of the partic. also the perfect נִנְבַּחְתָּ = נִנְבַּחְתָּה, נִנְבַּחְתָּה (cf. the similarity of the perfect נִקְטַלְתָּ in pause to the partic. נִקְטַלְתָּ). The tone rested probably in both cases, at least in colloquial speech, on the penultima, Ges.-K., p. 94 f. note and the reff.). Further before pronominal suffixes עֲשִׂיָּךְ (*Besā*, III, 2), פְּרָאָךְ<sup>6</sup> (*Pea*, IV, 8), רַחֲמֶיךָ (*Gittin*, VI, 6), &c. But it is important to remember that, in spite of the frequent interchange of forms between these two verbal classes, each of them retains, nevertheless,

<sup>1</sup> König (loc. cit.) thinks that forms like יָקַר had existed in the spoken language, though not in literature, before the *Poel* קִיַּם came into use as an intensive.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. קִרְאִים, Ps. xcix. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. קְרוּיָה, Judg. viii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Probably, as Weiss (p. 39) observes, because יִצְחָה would hardly be distinguishable in sound from יִצָּה, as the *z* was not pronounced distinctly.

<sup>5</sup> For נִקְחָה, נִקְחָה, which would normally be in MH. נִקְחָה, נִקְחָה, cf. above, p. 42.

<sup>6</sup> C. reads פְּרָאָךְ.

in MH. its own particular individuality and its distinctive characteristics. The relation of the two verbal classes to each other remains in MH. practically the same as in BH. and as in Assyrian and classical Arabic<sup>1</sup>, except that in MH. ה"ל forms predominate over ס"ל forms, thus exhibiting the beginnings of the final triumph of the ה"ל class. In Aramaic, on the other hand, and in modern Arabic the ס"ל verbs disappear entirely, being completely absorbed by the ה"ל class<sup>2</sup>.

Stein (p. 49 f.) asserts that the participle Kal of verbs ה"ל is sometimes formed in MH. after the Aramaic fashion with *ā* in the first syllable. But this assertion rests on insufficient evidence. Of the instances which he adduces, שפין (*Eduy.*, I, 8; cf. *Ab. Z.*, III, 10) is from שוף "to rub"; צבה (*Bekor.*, VII, 5) is an adjective which is already found in BH. (*Num.* v. 21); so also כָּלָה (*Terum.*, VII, 7) and the late, though frequent, combination פָּרִין וְרִבִּין "fruitful and multiplying" may be adjectives. Note that in neither of them is there a corresponding finite Kal in MH., and פרה as a verb does not occur in MH. at all. The participle of זכה is always זוכה, זוכן, except in the legal maxim וְזָכַן בְּפָנָיו וְזָכַן בְּפָנָיו חָבִין לְאָדָם אֶלָּא בְּפָנָיו (*Erub.*, VII, 11; *Gittin*, I, 6, &c.), where the *a* in זָכַן may be due to assonance with the following חָבִין.

He further regards the forms העני "he became poor," מַתְמִיָּה "astonishing," and יוֹפִי "to be fair" as evidence of the existence in MH., as in Syriac, of ה"ל verbs. But העני is clearly a denominative of עני, מַתְמִיָּה is Hiph'il of תָּמָה, and for יוֹפִי we ought to read יוֹפָה; cf. above, p. 27.

## THE NOUN.

As in the other parts of speech so also in the treatment of the noun, MH. followed faithfully the traditions of BH. This is true in the main both of the formation of the noun

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ges.-K., § 75 *nn* ff.; Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup>, § 150; Wright, *Arab. Gr.*<sup>3</sup>, I, § 132, Rem. a.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dalman, § 72, 1; Spitta, § 130 b. In Syriac only the intensive stem of the verb חָסַ and of one or two others has preserved the original ס"ל forms. All other ס"ל verbs have been absorbed by the ה"ל (= ה"ה) class. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 177, C, Rem.

and also of its inflexion. As regards its formation, not only has MH. retained the original forms of almost all those BH. nouns which it still uses, but it has also formed its new substantives on the basis of the old BH. ground-forms. A full treatment of the subject will be found in F. Hillel's monograph mentioned above (p. 3). It will be sufficient for our purpose to note here only those formations which are specially characteristic of MH., and which may help us to ascertain its relation to BH. on the one hand and to Aramaic on the other.

### I. VERBAL NOUNS.

As stated above (p. 38 f.), MH. has lost the nominal constructions of the infinitives and uses in their stead *nomina actionis* corresponding to the respective verbal stems. These are freely formed as occasion demands. We give below a classified list of these verbal nouns.

*Kal.* The verbal noun of the *Kal* is קָטִילָה, probably the feminine of קָטִיל, the ground-form of the abstract and infinitival nouns אָסִיף, בָּצִיר, קָצִיר.<sup>1</sup> Examples: זריקה, נשיכה, פתיחה, קריאה, יציאה, טיחה, ליטה, סיכה, and in a secondary sense also as concretes: מציאה ("finding"—a thing found), חתיכה ("cutting"—a piece), קליפה ("peeling"—peel). So in Sirach: שקירה xxxviii. 26; גויעה xxxviii. 16; שעה xxxviii. 25. In BH. the form occurs as *nomen actionis* in שריקות (Judges v. 16), אבילה (1 Kings xix. 8), שניאה (Ps. xix. 13), שחיטה (2 Chron. xxx. 7), and in ע"ו roots: קימה (Lam. iii. 63), also ביאה (Ezek. viii. 5, concrete) and a few more. In Aramaic, however, this form is extremely rare, occurring only in the Jewish dialects<sup>2</sup>, in which it is most probably borrowed from MH. There is thus no doubt that it is a genuine Hebraic form. The fact that in earlier BH. it occurs only in the Song of Deborah and in the story of Elijah may, perhaps, tend to show that it was originally a Northern dialectal form, which was only received into the literary language after it had firmly established itself in the spoken language, and from the latter it descended to MH.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hillel, p. 19, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Dalman, p. 158, 5 and footnote.

The form is also used in MH. in abstract sense, e.g. מיתה "death," and the affix ית — is sometimes added in order to strengthen its abstract character, as, e.g. פרישות "separation"; נמילות חסדים "performance of kindness"; שפיכות דמים "bloodshed"<sup>1</sup>.

The verbal noun מְקַטֵּל or מִקְטָל, which is analogous to the Aramaic infinitive *Peal*, is only found in MH. in מָנַע (*Hullin*, IV, 4; *Kelim*, XVIII, 6), the other instances being BH. words: מָתַן (*Aboth*, II, 1), מָשָׂא (ibid., IV, 22; cf. 2 Chron. xix. 7), מְמַזְר (*Megilla*, III, 2).

*Pi'el*. The verbal noun of the intensive stem is קָטוּל (= קִטּוּל)<sup>2</sup> formed at will from any *Pi'el*, e.g. בָּטוּל, כָּבוּד, נִיפּוּךְ, בִּיעוּר, עִירוּב, (also concrete); of ל"ה verbs יוּדוּי, מִיחוּי, עֲנוּי, and so of ל"א roots as מִילוּי; in ע"ע roots the noun assumes the form of *Pilpul*: דָּקְדוּק, קִלְקוּל, בַּעֲבֻעַ, חֲרָהוּר; cf. also the three Šaph'el forms peculiar to MH., שְׁעָבֹד, שְׁחָרֹר, שְׁחָרֹר. The form is sometimes used in the plural only in an abstract signification, usually of a technical nature: קְדוּשִׁין, אֲירוּסִין ("betrothal"); נִישׂוּאִין ("marriage"); מִיאוּנִין ("refusal" of a wife to cohabit with her husband to whom she had been married by her mother or brothers while still a minor), גִּירוּשִׁין ("divorce"), &c. In a concrete sense the form is found in יְשׁוּב ("a habitation, settlement"), חֲבִי ("a covering," *Kelim*, XVI, 17), כִּסּוּי ("a lid"), טִינּוּף ("filth"), &c. In BH., too, this ground-form has generally in the singular a concrete signification: לָמִיד, צָפוּי, שִׁקּוּן ("disciple"); but abstract in שְׁלוֹם and the fem. שְׁלָמָה (Ps. xci. 8), and of ע"ע root חֲרָהוּר (Deut. xxviii. 52); so especially in the plural נְחוּמִים, מְלוּאִים, גְּדוּפִים, שְׁלוּמִים. In Sirach: חֲמוּר xiv. 14, יָפֹר xl. 29, לָמוּר (abstract) lxi. 28, נְפוּי xxxi. 1, xliv. 20.

Another verbal noun belonging to this stem is the form מְטָלָה, which is identical with the Aramaic infinitive *Pa'el*, but is used in MH. rather more as a true abstract than as a *nomen actionis*. Examples: כִּפְּרָה "atonement"; בְּגָה "devotion" (direction of the mind); סִכְנָה "danger"; קִבְּלָה "receipt"; עֲכָבָה "delay," "detention"; also as a concrete, "rim" (*Ab. Z.*, V, 1), so חֲרָרָה "biscuit."

<sup>1</sup> אֲרִיסָה cited by Hillel (p. 20) does not belong here, being a denominative of אָרִיס; so וְהִירָה of וְהִירָה, &c.

<sup>2</sup> The corresponding form in Syriac is ܡܬܬܠܐ, Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 117.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, § 123.

The BH. instances are comparatively late: בקרה (Ezek. xxxiv. 12), בקשה (Esther v. 7; Ezra vii. 6), נאצה (Neh. ix. 18, 26; cf. Ezek. xxxv. 12), and נחמה (Job vi. 10; Ps. cxix. 50). It is to be observed that this form is not very frequent in MH., and that it cannot be formed at will as קטיל.

*Hiph'il.* The causative stem has two *nomina actionis*, viz. הקטל and הקטלה. Examples of הקטל are: הבער, הפטר, הרגל, הקטר, הרגל, היתר, &c. This form is practically the old infin. Hiph'il fossilized into a noun. The traditional pronunciation with *ē* after the preformative seems to have arisen through the influence of the vowel *ē* of the second syllable. When followed by a genitive, however, it generally preserves, if tradition can be trusted, the old pointing; so הקטל החמה (Berak., I, 1; Nidda, IX, 9), הקטל יר (Arak., IV, 1; Sifra, fol. 24 b, c), הקטל אברה (B. Mes., VII, 4), הקטל שרין (Halla, I, 9), הקטל שרין, &c. (Šebu'oth, II, 4).

Examples of הקטלה are: הבערה, הדלקה, הטמנה, הכנסה, הפסקה, הוראה, הוצאה, הוספה; הנאה; הנחה; הרקרה, הרכנה, הפרשה (or הוריה), השקיה, &c., &c. With א for ה, in Aramaic fashion, we meet in אכרה (BH.), אזהרה<sup>2</sup>, אבעיה, and אונאה.

The form הקטלה, which is identical with the Aramaic infin. of Aph'el (Haph'el), is more common in MH. than הקטל. It is probably older than the ordinary infin. with *ē* (= *i*) in the second syllable<sup>3</sup>. In BH. it is found as early as Isaiah: הקטר (> הכיר) iii. 9 and הקפה (> הניף) xxx. 28. Further with א in אכרה (Lev. ii. 2, &c.); beside הנחה (Esther ii. 8) and הצלה (iv. 14). In Sirach: השנה (xxxv. 10) and הוראה (li. 17); הצנע (xvi. 25; xxxii. 3; cf. Mic. vi. 8).

Here may be mentioned the verbal noun הִשְׁתַּחֲוִיָּה, plur. השתחויות (Tamid., VII, 3, &c.), which already occurs in the N. Israelitish document, 2 Kings v. 18.

That these verbal nouns are not borrowed by MH. from Aramaic is proved by their occurrence in BH., often in the older books. Their scarcity in the literary language of

<sup>1</sup> This list of the form הקטלה in strong verbs, to which many more might be added, disposes of Hillel's statement (p. 37) that הקטל is generally used in strong verbs and הקטלה in weak verbs.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bacher, *Terminologie*, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, pp. 73. 90.

BH. may be ascribed to the highly developed nominal constructions of the infinitive in BH. which made the use of those nouns unnecessary. In Aramaic, moreover, these forms are used as pure infinitives to express, with prefixes, the complement of another verb. MH., on the other hand, uses for this purpose the old infinitive with ל, while these forms are employed only in a purely nominal capacity.

The *nomina agentis* with the termination יָ- may have been borrowed by MH. direct from Aramaic, and, when their form had become firmly established in the language, new nouns were formed out of Hebrew roots on the model of these naturalized foreign nouns, e. g. רִצֵּץ, רִצָּץ (‘‘saddler, shoemaker’’)<sup>1</sup> רִשָּׁן. On the other hand, the *denominative adjectives* terminating in יָ- may be purely Hebraic formations; examples, מַכְבֵּן ‘‘shaped like a hammer,’’ לַפְתָּן ‘‘turniplike’’ (> לַפֶּת), *Bekor.*, VII, 1, and the feminine, which ends in יָתֵ- . Cf. the BH. לֹוִיתָן, נַחֲשֶׁתָן (prob.); יִרְעוּתִי, אֲרָמוֹתִי, and the fem. רַחֲמָנוּת (Lam. iv. 10). In Sirach נִבְרָהָן (iv. 29).

The adverbs מֵעָלָן ‘‘above,’’ מִתָּן ‘‘below’’ (*Zebah.*, II, 2, III, 6; *Ohol.*, XII, 8, XIII, 3, and *Sifra*), have probably preserved the old adverbial termination<sup>2</sup> מִ- changed into יָ-. So also the frequent adverb לְהָלָן (or לָהָלָן?) ‘‘yonder, there,’’ which in Aramaic has no final *n* except in the late Galilean dialect<sup>3</sup>.

Here may be mentioned the *nomina agentis* of the form קָטוּל which occur but occasionally in MH. but are so common in Aramaic under the form مَقُولٌ<sup>4</sup>. The following examples of this formation occur in MH.<sup>5</sup>: טָחוּן ‘‘a miller’’ (*Demai*, III, 5); כְּרוּק

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 130.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ges.-K., § 100. g, h.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dalman, p. 102 e. In אֲבֻדָּתָן, אֲבֻדָּתָן (*Aboda Z.*, I, 5), quoted by Hillel (p. 43), the *n* is a pronominal suffix.

<sup>4</sup> Nöldeke, op. cit., § 107.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 176, and Hillel, without mentioning Barth, p. 27 f. These forms have been misunderstood by previous writers, cf. Geiger, p. 44, 6; Graetz, *Orient.*, 1845, col. 87 (cf. *ibid.*, 1846, col. 373; Weiss, p. 90; Siegfried and Strack, § 68 c.

“a wooleomber” (*Kelim*, XXVI, 5); plur. כְּרוֹקֶת (*ibid.*, XII, 2), and the following which occur in the plural only: דְּרוֹבוֹת “wine-presses” (*Terum.*, III, 4; cf. Isa. xvi. 10, &c.); תְּבוֹרוֹת “tenants, farmers” (*Bikk.*, I, 2); מְשׁוּחֹת “surveyors” (*Erub.*, IV, 11; *Kelim.*, XIV, 3); גְּרוֹסוֹת “gristmakers”; דְּשׁוֹשֹׁת “groatmakers” (> דֶּשֶׁשׁ = דֶּשֶׁשׁ; *Mo'ed Kat.*, II, 5); לְקַחוֹת “purchasers”<sup>1</sup> (*Ketub.*, VIII, 1, &c.), and according to the best texts also לְעִזּוֹת “men speaking a foreign tongue” (*Megilla*, II, 1), but note the following singular לְעִזֵּי. So also always לֹקֵחַ “a purchaser,” and not לְקִיחַ. This may perhaps be due to a deliberate change of spelling on the part of the scribes, who mistook the form לְקִיחַ for the partic. passive לְקִיחַ.

The same form is found in the following *names of instruments*: שְׁחֹר “a razor” (*Kelim*, XIII, 1); דְּקוֹר “a borer” (XIV, 3); מְחֹק “an instrument for levelling a measure of grain” (XVII, 16), רְחוֹשׁ “a stew-pan” (cf. the references in the *Kohut*, s. v.)<sup>2</sup>.

These forms occur already in BH., viz. אֶמְזִין, בְּחֹן, אֶמְזִין, יֶקֶשׁ, עֶשֶׂק, רְזוֹן; perhaps צְרוֹף “a refiner” (Jer. vi. 29; cf. LXX ἀργυροκόπος); the feminine בְּגִדְרָה; and as a *nomen instrumenti*: תְּקוֹעַ (Ezek. vii. 14). This fact and also the rareness of the form in MH. prove conclusively that the form was not borrowed by MH. from Aramaic.

## 2. DIMINUTIVES.

MH. possesses a number of diminutive formations which, though not so fully and so strongly developed as in Arabic or as the secondary formations in Syriae<sup>3</sup>, are yet sufficiently numerous and strongly marked to deserve fuller treatment than has been accorded to them by previous writers<sup>4</sup>. We give below classified lists of the various forms; many of these, it must be admitted, are necessarily

<sup>1</sup> The explanation of Jastrow, s. v. (so Dukes, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 101) will not apply to most cases where the word is used.

<sup>2</sup> In *Beṣa*, I, 7, cited by Hillel (p. 28 B), read הָרָר “the wood used in the pot,” i.e. the ladle; so all the commentaries (against Levy, *NHWB.*, s. v.), cf. Raši, כֶּף גְּרוֹדָה.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Wright, *Arab. Gr.*<sup>3</sup>, I, § 269; Nöldeke, §§ 131, 132; also Ges.-K., p. 250 footnote.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 313 f.; Hillel, p. 45 f.

dubious, but they are sufficiently probable to deserve to be included here.

1. Diminutives formed by the insertion of the vowel *ei* (originally *ai*), or more usually its contracted form *i*, after the second radical: *בִּדְרִירָה* <sup>1</sup> “a little oil-press” (> *בֵּר*, *Šebi'ith*, VIII, 6); *שׁוּמְרִירָה* “a watchman's hut” (*Erub.*, II, 5, according to N. and cod. Munich; C. has *שׁוּמְרָה*). In *B. Bathra*, IV, 8 both C. and N. have *שׁוּמְרָה*. In *Kilaim*, V, 3 both C. and N. have *שׁוּמְרָה*, but the Munich cod. reads *שׁוּמְרִירָה*; cf. also Maimonides and other commentaries, ad loc.). These two forms exhibit the vowel *u* after the first radical as in Arabic and in Aramaic<sup>2</sup>. Further, *תְּפִיפָה* “a small bag” (*Gittin*, III, 3; *B. Mes.*, I, 8; cf. the explanation in the *Gemara*, fol. 20 b: *חַמַּת קַטְנָה*); *עֲרִיקָה* “a cradle” (*Kelim*, XVI, 1. Contrast with *עֵרֶשׁ* Deut. iii. 11. A large bed is always *מַטָּה* in MH.). Perhaps *כְּנִימָה* “vermin” (? a collective? *Makšir.*, VI, 1). In ע"ע roots the second radical is repeated; *כְּדִירָה* “a little pitcher” (*Tosefta Menah.*, IX, 10); *כְּלִילָה* <sup>3</sup> “a little basket” (*Ab. Z.*, II, 7). Cf. also *בִּדְרִירָה* (> *בֵּר*) mentioned before. Further, *כְּפִיפָה* “a basket” (from *כַּפָּף*; *Terum.*, IX, 3; *Kel.*, XXVI, 1; *Sota*, II, 1); C. and cod. Munich read in both places *קְפִיפָה*, which, according to Wright<sup>4</sup>, is a diminutive of *קוֹפָה*. If so, the form will also exhibit reduplication, which is a further method of forming diminutives; cf. below. Reduplication also appears in *חֵרִיר* <sup>5</sup> “the eye of a needle,” from the ע"ו noun *חֹר* “hole,” and perhaps *כְּלִיל* “shuttle,” from *כָּל* <sup>6</sup> (*Neg.*, XI, 9). The words are probably to be pointed *חֵרִיר כְּלִיל* just like the BH. *וְעִיר*; so also the Aram. *זִלְיָא, זִלְיָא* (*Targum*, Prov. xiv. 6, xii. 9, xxviii. 7).

Barth, who denies the existence of the diminutive in Hebrew, ascribes this formation in MH. to the influence

<sup>1</sup> This is the reading of C. and N.; cod. Munich has *בִּדְרִירָה*, evidently a corruption of *בִּדְרִירָה*. Other texts have *בִּדְרִירָה*.

<sup>2</sup> Wright, l. c.; Nöldeke, § 112; Barth, l. c.

<sup>3</sup> So N. and C.; other texts have *כְּלִילָה*.

<sup>4</sup> op. cit., p. 167, Rem. Cf. Kohut, s. v. *כְּפִיפָה*.

<sup>5</sup> *Kelim*, XIII, 3 *כַּחַת שְׁנֵיכָל הַרְקָה* “a needle the eyelet of which has been removed”; *שֶׁל בְּקָיִן שְׁנֵיכָל הַרְקָה* “a needle of sack-makers, the eyelet of which, &c.”

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Jastrow, s. v. Here perhaps belongs BH. *כְּלִיל*, a contemptuous diminutive of *אֵל* “god,” or of *אֵל* “nought.”

of Aramaic. But surely the Aram. contemporary with MH. could not possibly have been conscious of the diminutive force of *חַצְצִי*, *חַצְצִי*, since it stopped short at two<sup>1</sup> words without extending this formation to other nouns; how then could it have influenced MH. to form about ten new diminutives? There can be no doubt whatever that this formation is genuinely Hebraic. Its use must have been confined to colloquial and familiar speech, in which diminutives abound in almost all languages. Hence its absence in the literary dialect of BH. and its occurrence in Isaiah's parody of the speech of drunkards (Isa. xxviii. 10, 13 four times) and in the deliberately familiar and condescending words which Elihu addresses to Job (Job xxxvi. 2). Elsewhere Isaiah uses the ordinary and polite form *מְצַר* (Isa. x. 25, xvi. 14, xxix. 17; also xxiv. 6).

It is noteworthy that all the MH. forms given above, with the exception of *חֲרִיר*, are feminines. Below we shall find this gender alone in another form expressing the diminutive. It is but natural that the feminine, being the weaker gender, should be used for that purpose. Further, the diminutive expresses either endearment or contempt, both sentiments naturally inspired by the female and not by the male sex.

2. By reduplication: *בַּעֲלָצוֹל* "dwarf onion" (*Kilaim*, I, 3); *סַמְרוֹמֹט* "lappet, rug" (*Šabb.*, XXI, 2, &c.); *סַלְסֵלָה* "small basket" *Tanḥuma* to Lev. xix. 2, opposed to *סַל נְדוּל* below. So, as the text stands, in BH. Jer. vi. 9; cf. Raši, ad loc.). With the reduplication of the third radical only and the addition of the feminine termination ית: *תְּלֹלִיּוֹת* (plur. *תְּלֹלִיּוֹת*) "a little heap or hill" (*תֵּל* > *Ohol.*, XVI, 2); *שְׁלֹלִית* "a pool" (*ibid.*, XVI, 5). Further, *גְּבִישׁוּשִׁית* "a hillock, heap" (*Talm. b. Šabb.*, 73 b, probably an Aramaic word); *עֲפֹרֹרִית* "a little dust" (*Talm. b. B. Bathra*, 93 b)<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> So according to Barth, who regards *חַצְצִי* as a loan-word from the Arabic.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, § 134.

<sup>3</sup> Note the presence in these forms of the vowel *u*.

Several Pilpel formations may also perhaps be regarded as expressing the diminutive idea; so certainly נָמַם "to doze" (cf. Levy, *Ch. WB.*, s. v. נָמַם); לָחַלַח or לָבַלַךְ (> לָח) not "to make very wet" but "to soil."

Compare further זַעֲטוּט and זַאֲטוּט "young man, student," from זַעֲטָא<sup>1</sup> and דְּגוּנִית (or contracted to דְּגוּנִית) "a light fisherboat."

BH. parallels are to be found in שְׁהַרְחַרְתָּ (Cant. i. 6) which can only mean "blackish" = "dark"; so יֶרֶקְרוֹקָה "yellowish" = "pale" (of Esther's complexion, *Talm. b. Megilla*, 13 a). Perhaps also יֶרֶקְרָק, אֶדְמָרָם (Lev. xiii. 42, 43<sup>2</sup>), אֶסְפָּסוּף (contemptuously, Num. xi. 4) "rabble," and פֶּרַחַח (contemptuously, Job xxx. 12) "low brood"; cf. פֶּרַחֵי כַהֲנָה "young priests" (*Yoma*, I, 7; *Tam.*, I, 1).

3. By adding the termination לִ— or לִי—<sup>3</sup> תְּכִינֹנֹת "little jars" (> חֵבִית *Kelim*, II, 2); שְׁוִמְנִית "small kind of garlic" (> שֹׁם with the addition of the feminine termination, cf. No. 4, *Kilaim*, I, 3); perhaps also קִנְיֹן "a basket of reeds" (!, *Beša*, I, 8; *Kelim*, XVI, 3 הַקְּנִיָּה הַגְּדוּלִים, הק' הקטנים (!); בִּידוֹן, נִיקוֹן (BH.) "little (!) javelins" (*Kel.*, XI, 8). (cf. further the Aramaic נְנוּנִיתָא "a little garden" (*Targ. j.*, Exod. ii. 21; *Talm. b. Berak.*, 43 b שֶׁל נְנוּנִיתָא "a portable brazier" (> בִּנָּה, בֵּן "base of stone," so Jastrow); כְּנוּנִית or כְּנוּנִית "a little chamber" (> כִּנְיֹן "to arrange" (!) *Talm. b. Hullin*, 56 b); כְּלִנִּיתָא or כְּלִנִּיתָא "little bride"—a kind of plant.

4. By adding the feminine termination יָת : גְּדוּרִית "a little band" (*Sifra* בחֲקֵי in the beginning)<sup>4</sup>. Perhaps also עֲסִיסִית "pounded wheat or peas" (> עֲסָה *Tosefta Beša*, I, 23); דְּגוּנִית "a light fisherboat"; סְנוּנִית "a swallow"; כְּלָבִית "a kind of small fish"; סְמָמִית "a poisonous spider" (> סָם BH. שְׁמָמִית *Talm. b. Šabb.*, 77 b).

<sup>1</sup> So Jastrow. Levy identifies it with the Greek ζῆνζης.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ibn Ezra, ad loc. In *Neg.*, XI, 4 it is explained as an intensive.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ges.-K., § 86, 9 and footnote, and Nöldeke, § 131.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hillel, l. c.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Dalman, § 30 B.

<sup>6</sup> So Raši to Lev. xxvi. 31 and Jastrow. But רִאשִׁית to the *Sifra* (l. c.) explains our word as "foundation," and this is adopted by Levy, s. v.

<sup>7</sup> So Jastrow, s. v.; cf., however, 'Aruch, s. v.

<sup>8</sup> So Jastrow, s. v.

Several BH. nouns ending in ית— may also perhaps be regarded as diminutives, e. g. צלחת (2 Kings ii. 20) as compared with צלחת (ibid. xxi. 13 and especially 2 Chron. xxxv. 13); מנקית (Exod. xxv. 29, &c.); שארית.

5. By periphrasis with בן חרין: בן חרין "a small ditch" (*B. Bathra*, VII, 4); בן פטיש "a small hammer," *Kelim*, XXIX, 7). Perhaps also בן קול "the Bath Kol"; cf. PH. בני יונה, בן בקר, &c.

### 3. THE PLURAL.

The plural termination of masc. nouns is in MH. almost as often ין— as ים—. This is especially the case in participles. This termination is not an Aramaism. The *n* is common to nearly all Semitic languages<sup>1</sup>, and is the only form found on the Meša' stone, though Phoenician uses only *im*. In BH. the form *in* is found pretty often<sup>2</sup>, and as early as the Song of Deborah (מדין, Judges v. 10), and must have been more common in the spoken language than in the literary dialect. Its frequent occurrence in poetry tends to support this view. For unlike the prose writer, the poet does not easily allow himself to be fettered by convention and fixed rules; and, especially if he be a lyrical poet, as almost all Hebrew poets are, he will give expression to his feelings and thoughts in a style and in a form which are most natural to him. The poetical parts of the Bible, therefore, present in many respects a more accurate picture of the language of their time than the contemporary prose, which, we may assume, on the analogy of the literary style of other languages, had to conform to a certain standard set up by earlier writers, and to employ only the forms and expression current in the polite, but in many respects artificial, language of the educated classes. So that in the case of the plural termination also we find MH. preserving and extending a feature peculiar to the spoken language of Biblical times, as distinguished from the literary language of the Biblical books.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the table in Zimmern's *Vergl. Gr.*, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Sirach, כהסין, כחסין, xiii. 22, כחסין, xvi. 15.

Besides the ordinary plural terminations of the feminine  $\text{ות}$ — or  $\text{ית}$ — (in case of singulars ending in  $\text{ית}$ —,  $\text{ות}$ —), a number of nouns form their plural in MH. by the termination  $\text{ות}$ — :  $\text{מקנה}$  “bath,” pl.  $\text{מקנאות}$  (but also  $\text{מקנות}$ );  $\text{מיטתה}$ —  $\text{מיטאות}$  (or  $\text{מיטתות}$ )<sup>1</sup>,  $\text{מרחץ}$  “a bathing establishment,”  $\text{מרחצאות}$ ;  $\text{שדרה}$  (or  $\text{שורה}$ ) “backbone” —  $\text{שדראות}$ ; cf. also  $\text{ביראות}$  “wells” (*Erub.*, III, 1),  $\text{בומסאות}$  (*Pea*, V, 8).

This termination is especially common in foreign words, e.g.  $\text{אמבטיאות}$ , pl. of  $\text{אמבטי}$  “bath-tub”;  $\text{אפתיקאות}$ —  $\text{אפתיקא}$  ( $\text{ὑποθήκη}$ );  $\text{נימטריאות}$ —  $\text{נימטריא}$  ( $\text{στοά}$ );  $\text{רונמאות}$ —  $\text{רונמא}$  ( $\text{δελγμα}$ );  $\text{ריוטאות}$ —  $\text{ריוטה}$  ( $\text{δύλαιτα}$ );  $\text{טבלאות}$ —  $\text{טבלא}$  (*tabula*,  $\text{τάβλα}$ ), &c., &c.

Luzzatto<sup>2</sup> explains this termination as a combination of the Aramaic fem. plural  $\text{תות}$ — with the Hebrew  $\text{ות}$ —. Similarly Nöldeke<sup>3</sup>, who goes further and maintains that irregular Hebrew plurals in  $\text{ות}$ — of masculine nouns like  $\text{מקומות}$ ,  $\text{מזבחות}$  are also to be traced to Aramaic influence.

A far easier and more natural explanation of these MH. plurals seems to the writer to be the following. The vowel  $\bar{a}$  was inserted before  $\text{ות}$ — from a desire to make these plurals, especially those of recently acquired nouns, conform to the standard type of feminine plurals which has the vowel  $\bar{a}$  before the termination  $\text{ות}$ —. (e.g.  $\text{מלכות}$ ,  $\text{צדקות}$ <sup>4</sup>), and for the sake of euphony an  $\text{ס}$  (or  $\text{י}$ ) was inserted between this vowel  $\bar{a}$  and the termination to serve as bearer of the vowel  $\bar{o}$  with which the termination begins<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> These two plurals may exhibit the return of the old third radical  $y$ , since the  $\text{ס}$  was usually pronounced as  $y$ . Cf.  $\text{מקשאות}$  (*Šebi'ith*, II, 1), pl. of  $\text{מקשה}$  =  $\text{מקשאה}$  “a cucumber field,” Isa. i. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Orient.*, 1847, No. 1, col. 2. So already Salomon Levysohn in his essay cited above, p. 3, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Beiträge*, &c., p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the table in *Ges.-K.*, p. 289.

<sup>5</sup> Though not etymologically similar, it may, nevertheless, be interesting to compare these forms with the BH. plurals  $\text{ריוטאים}$ ,  $\text{ריוטאים}$  (Ps x. 10, cf. *Ges.-K.*, § 93 x), and the MH.  $\text{ריוטאין}$ ,  $\text{ריוטאין}$ ,  $\text{ריוטאין}$ , pl. of  $\text{ריוט}$ ,  $\text{ריוט}$  (often spelt  $\text{ריוטא}$ ,  $\text{ריוטא}$  and  $\text{ריוטא}$ , and BH.  $\text{ריוטאים}$ , pl. of  $\text{ריוט}$  as in MH.

In MH., as in BH., the rule that the masculine forms the plural by ים— and the feminine by ות— holds good only in the case of adjectives and participles. In the case of nouns the exceptions are so numerous as almost to break down the rule, e. g. מפתחות — מפתח; חותם — חותמות; חתמות — חתמות; מפתח — מפתחות; קרבנות — קרבנות; שלחנות — שלחנות; צנן — צננות “horse-radish”; סיטון — סיטונות “a corn merchant” (*στρώνης* ?); cf. also the plural of *nomina agentis* דרובות, דרוכות, כרוכות, above, p. 63.

Conversely feminine plurals in ים—, ים— : טפין — טפה “drop”; חורת — חורין “leek”; קליפה — קליפין “peel”; קישית — קישיות “cucumbers”; רלועין — רלעת “gourd,” and, of course, חטים — חטית, שיעור — שיעורים, &c.

Note.—The BH. singular אישפות is only found in MH. once (*Kelim*, XXVII, 11). Elsewhere it is always אישפה, but the plural is regularly אישפותות, at least in earlier MH. (*Še'ith*, III, 1, 2, 3; *Ohol*, XVIII, 8, &c.). In view of these facts Geiger's<sup>1</sup> ingenious explanation of MH. אישפה as an artificial singular derived from BH. אישפות, which was mistaken by the Rabbis for a plural, falls to the ground. Probably the BH. אישפות is a secondary form, with *ā* obscured to *ô*, of אישפת, from the verb ישפת<sup>2</sup> with prosthetic א, whence the plural אישפותות (like נמלים). The old form אישפת, however, survived in popular speech, but, the ending ות— being mistaken by the popular mind for the old feminine termination, the word was shortened to אישפה; but the plural אישפותות was already too firmly established to be changed accordingly.

#### 4. THE DUAL.

The dual is pretty common in MH., not only in words which have the dual in BH., but also in many new formations. This is another proof that MH. and Aramaic have little in common in the sphere of strict etymology. For Aramaic, as is well known, has, with one or two exceptions, entirely lost its dual, while in MH. the dual has survived with

<sup>1</sup> op. cit., p. 24. Levy (*Oriental*, 1841, p. 815) regards BH. אישפות itself as pl. of the sing. אישפה and אישפת as a double plural.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Oxford Hebrew Lexicon, s. v.

increased vitality. We give here a list of all the duals found in the Mišna which do not occur in BH.<sup>1</sup>

אַחֲרֵימָם "back" (*Kelim*, XXV, 1 f.); אֶצְבָּעַיִם "two fingers" (*Ohol*, XIII, 1); נָפִיִּים "back" (*Kelim*, XXV, 5); נְפִיִּים "wings<sup>2</sup>" (*Hullin*, III, 4); טַפְחֵימָם "two handbreadths" (*Menah.*, XI, 5; *B. Bathra*, I, 1); כּוֹרֵימָם "two kors" (*Kelim*, XV, 1); מְנַפֵּימָם "greaves" (*ibid.*, XI, 8); מַחְלָצִים "windlass" (*Mo'ed Kat.*, I, 10); מַסְפָּרִים "scissors" (*Kelim*, XVI, 8, &c.); קָבִים "two kabs" (*Eduy.*, I, 2; *Tamid*, III, 6); קֶרְבִּים "intestines" (*ibid.*, IV, 2); קֶרְסוּלִים "ankles" (*Hullin*, III, 7); רִבְעֵיתִים "two-fourths" (*Kerith.*, I, 7); שִׁילִים "skirts" (*Kelim*, XV, 1); טֵירִים "remnants" (*Erub.*, II, 6, &c.). Further, יוֹרְתִים "two spans" (*Baraita, Talm. b. Ta'anith*, 5 a) and בֵּית הַמִּטְבָּחִים "the slaughter-house" (*Aboth*, V, 5; *Middoth*, III, 5). The Aramaic *בי מטבחה* must be an adaptation from MH., as shown by the ט.

## 5. THE EXPRESSION OF THE GENITIVE.

(a) *The Construct State.* The most usual and predominant method of expressing the genitive in MH. is still by means of the construct state. Circumlocution of the genitive is resorted to, as a rule, only in certain cases and under certain restrictions, viz. when the grammar or the desire for lucidity and precision would make the employment of the constr. st. awkward or impracticable. MH. differs in this respect also from Aramaic. The latter, too, in the earlier Jewish dialects, makes a most extensive use of the constr. st. But in MH. the respective usages of the constr. st. and of circumlocution can be classified under certain headings and explained by certain logical and grammatical rules; in Aramaic, on the other hand, the two constructions are found side by side without any apparent cause, and it

<sup>1</sup> The dual is often spelt יָיִם—.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. the limbs on which the כְּנָפִים "the feathers" grow. Hence the Mišna says נִשְׁחָבְרוּ נִפְיָהּ but נִשְׁחָבְרוּ כְּנָפֶיהָ.

<sup>3</sup> So according to the traditional pronunciation. Levy and Kohut point הַמִּטְבָּחִים, but the form מִטְבָּחִים is not found elsewhere. Jastrow points הַמִּטְבָּחִים.

depended, as it seems, entirely upon the momentary whim of the speaker or writer whether he chooses to use the one or the other<sup>1</sup>. Contrast Ezra v. 13 (מלכא די בבל) with vi. 14 (מלך פרס); Ezra v. 14 (מאניא די בית) with vi. 5 (מאני בית); especially in the Aram. of Daniel: Dan. ii. 19 (חזוא די ליליא) with iv. 2, 6; ii. 49 (עבירה די מדינת) with iii. 12; iii. 1 (צלם די דהב) with iii. 5, 7, &c.; v. 5 (פס ידא) with v. 24, &c. Instances of the indiscriminate use of the two constructions in the Targumim are too numerous and too well known to require special mention here (cf. Winer, *op. cit.*, § 56).

Though, as stated above, the constr. st. is the regular form in MH. for the expression of the genitive, it may nevertheless be useful to classify the chief cases of its use.

(1) It is used with *nomina actionis* as *agens*: מנע טרפה "the touching of a *terepha*" (*Hullin*, IV, 4); מתן סביב "sprinkling of the blood round about the altar" (*Zebah.*, XIV, 10; cf. VIII, 10); מלא רחב הפרסה "the full breadth of a step."

נטילת לולב (*Pesah.*, VII, 12); שבירת העצם: קטילה "the taking of the palm-branch" (*Megilla*, II, 5); ידיעות הטומאה "cases of knowledge of uncleanness"<sup>2</sup> (*Šebu'oth*, I, 1); further concrete: פתילת הבגד "the lappet of a garment" (*Šabb.*, II, 3), &c.

ביטול בית המדרש: קטיל "the neglect of the house of study" (*Šabb.*, XVI, 1); עירובי תחומין "Erubim of limits" (*Erub.*, VII, 11); מיעוט הקהל "delay of judgment" (*Aboth*, V, 8); concrete: כסויי הכלים "the minority of the assembly" (*Pesah.*, VII, 6); קלקולי המים "the lids of the vessels" (*Šabb.*, XVII, 8); further

<sup>1</sup> It is, however, to be noted that in the Zinjirli Inscriptions the constr. st. alone is used; cf. the text in Cooke, *op. cit.*, Nos. 61-3. On the other hand, in the Aramaic Papyri of Assuan the constr. st. is confined to "the most common words where the relation is a close and natural one" (Cowley, *Introd.*, p. 19).

The constr. st. has been given up almost entirely by the late non-Jewish dialects of Aram., e.g. Syriac (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 205, B), the Christian Palestinian Aram. (Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, XX, p. 507, § 36), and nearly so in Mandaic (cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, § 221, f.).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lev. xxiii. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lev. v. 2 f.

damaged receptacles of waters" (*Mo'ed Kat.*, I, 3); נחצנה חרבות "the glistening of swords" (*Sota*, VIII, 1); שחרורי עבדים "a writ of manumission" (*Gittin*, I, 4), &c.

הקטלה "the proper arrangement of the festivals" (*R. Hašana*, I, 3); סכנת נפשות "danger of life" (*Hullin*, III, 5), &c.

הקטיל "the burning of fats and limbs" (*Berak.*, I, 1); הקדיש טעות "devoting to the use of the sanctuary by error" (*Nazir*, V, 1, 3); הפסד מצוה (*Aboth*, II, 1), &c.

הקטלה "kindling of the lamp" (*Šabb.*, III, 6); הפרשת הר סיני "the separation from Mount Sinai"<sup>1</sup> (*B. Kam.*, V, 7); הודית המעשר "the confession of the tithe" (*Ma'aser Šeni*, V, 15)<sup>2</sup>; הוריית בית דין הגדול "the decision of the Great Court" (*Horay.*, I, 5), &c.

(2) With *nomen agentis* as *regens*: participles: חותמי ברכות "those that close the benedictions" (*Berak.*, IX, 3); עולי בבל "those that came up from Babylon" (*Šebi'ith*, VI, 1); מחוסרי כפורים "lacking atonement" (*Hag.* iii. 3); plural: מחוסרי כפורים (*Kerith.*, II, 1); שלוחי מצוה "those sent to perform a divine commandment" (*Sukka*, II, 4); אנוסת אביו, &c. "a woman outraged by his father" (*Yebam.*, XI, 1). Of the form קטל "those bound to bring a sin offering" (*Šabb.*, XI, 6); הון חכנסת "the beadle of the synagogue" (*Sota*, VII, 7); נבאי צדקה "collectors of alms" (*Kidduš.*, IV, 5).

With these may be classed adjectives as *regens*: נקי הדעת "those of pure mind" (*Gittin*, IX, 8); שחורי הראש "black-headed" (*Nedar.*, III, 8); צערי הלוי "the youngest of the Levites" (*Arak.*, II, 6).

Further, with nouns of the common types, as *Segolates*: קשר "a knot of tax-gatherers" (*Šabb.*, VIII, 2); רע קישואין "the requirements of the dead" (XXIII, 5); (IX, 7); צרכי המת "a forgotten sheaf"<sup>3</sup> (*Pea*, IV, 3); וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח ( > ) עֵמֶר הַשִּׁכְחָה (*Kidduš.*, III, 12); פקק החלקן "in a betrothal" (*Šabb.*, XVII, 7); טענת "the meal of betrothal" (*Pesah.*, III, 7); חזקת בעולה "the meal of betrothal" (*Ketub.*, I, 1); שנת המעשה "the meal of betrothal" (*Šebu'oth*, I, 3 f.); סעודת אירושין "the meal of betrothal" (*Pesah.*, III, 7); חבורת נשים (VIII, 7); שבוטת קברות

<sup>1</sup> Exod. xix. 12.<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxiv. 13.<sup>3</sup> Deut. xxiv. 19.

(*Naz.*, IX, 3); תחנומי אבלים (*Megilla*, IV, 3); תלמוד תורה (*Pea*, I, 1); תכשיטי נשים "ornaments of women" (*Pes.*, III, 1; *Kelim*, XI, 6); תשמיי הכלים (*Tanid*, V, 3); רשות הרבים "a public place"; קלות ראש, גמילות חסדים, &c. &c.<sup>1</sup>

Numerals, with the exception of יטנים, which are always in the constr. st., are generally construed in apposition to their substantives<sup>2</sup>, but the following constructs occur in the Mišna: ארבעת (*B. Bathra*, II, 5; VI, 7); המישה (*Nedar.*, VII, 2; *Sota*, VIII, 2); שבעת (*Bikk.*, I, 3; *Yoma*, I, 1, 2, 4), and עשרת (*Sanh.*, X, 3).

In the following passages אחד may be either in the constr. st. or in apposition: יד באחת "from one place" (so Maimonides, *Pea*, III, 3); באחת יד "with one hand" (*Šeb'ith*, III, 9); באחת ידו "with one of his hands" (*Para*, VII, 2, 3). Elsewhere this numeral follows the noun. (Cf. *Neh.* iv. 11 באחת ידו, and see König, *Syntax*, p. 240, Note 2.)

The *Plural of construct combinations*<sup>3</sup> is generally formed by attaching the termination to the *regens*, e.g. הוטי צמר, &c. "woollen threads" (*Šabb.*, VI, 5); צורפי זהב "goldsmiths" (VIII, 4); פקעי עמיר "bundles of sheaves" (XXIV, 2), &c., &c. Occasionally both members of the combination receive the plural termination: בתי כנסיות ובתי מדרשות<sup>4</sup> "synagogues and houses of study" (*Terum.*, XI, 10; *Pesah.*, IV, 4 and often); בתי הכדים (sing. בית הכר "wine-presses" (*Ma'as. Šeni*, III, 7); בתי נירן "meshes, slips" (בית ניר, *Šabb.*, VII, 2); אבות בתי דינן "Chiefs of the *Beth Din*" (sing. אב בית דין, *Hagiga*, II, 2; cf. *Sanh.*, XI, 2); בתי רשנן (sing. בית הרשן, *Sifra*, fol. 9 b) "receptacles for ashes"; בעלי אימנות "artisans" (*Bikk.*, III, 3); בעלי שיבות "greyheads" (*Nedar.*, III, 8); בעלי דינן "litigants" (*Aboth*, I, 8, &c.); בעלי בתים "householders" (*Bekor.*, VII, 6, &c.);

<sup>1</sup> It will be seen that many of these governing nouns are invariable in the constr. st., a fact which disproves the statement of Levy *Orient*, 1884, col. 813, so Wijnkoop, *J. Q. R.*, XV, p. 44, without mentioning Levy that the genitive of invariable nouns is expressed in MH. by circumlocution with *על*.

<sup>2</sup> But they are always placed in MH. before their substantives. Cf. Ges.-K., § 134 c and footnote 1.

<sup>3</sup> With the following remarks cf. Ges.-K., § 124 p, ff.

<sup>4</sup> The plural is formed from בנצקה (*Aboth*, IV, 11), and not from בנצקה.

(*Kelim*, XVII, 1 and often); בעלי קריין (sing. בעל קרי, *Mikwaoth*, VIII, 1); ראשי חרשים (sing. ראש חרש, "New Moons" (*Pesah.*, VII, 4); ראשי דברים (II, 6); ערבי "Eves of the Passover" (sing. ערב פסח, *Pesah.*, IV, 1, X, 1; *Eduy.*, V, 2); ערבי שבתות "Eves of the Sabbath" (*B. Mes.*, IV, 6); דיני נפשות "civil cases" (*Sanh.*, I, 1); דיני נפשות "capital cases"<sup>2</sup>; עדי נפשות "witnesses in capital cases" (*ibid.*, I, 4, IV, 5); חייבי חטאות (*Šabb.*, XI, 6); חייבי מיתות (*Sanh.*, VII, 10); חייבי כריתות (*Makkoth*, III, 15; cf. *Kerith.*, VI, 4); contrast חייבי עולה (*Temura*, V, 1); גטי נשים "bills of divorce" (sing. גט אישה); שחרורי עבדים "bills of manumission" (*Gittin*, I, 4 and often).

On the other hand, a number of combinations with בית as *regens* attach the plural sign to the *rectum*<sup>3</sup>: בית המשתאות "banqueting houses" (*Sota*, IX, 11); בית הברדן "wine-presses" (*B. Bathra*, III, 1); בית האצבעות (טהורות) "gloves" (*Kelim.*, XXVI, 3); בית פרסות (sing. בית פרס) "a field declared unclean owing to bones having been carried over it from a ploughed grave" (*Ohol*, XVIII, 2); בית הקמטים, בית הסתרים (אינן צריכים) "folds and hidden parts of the body" (*Mikwaoth*, VIII, 5); בית הטומאות (... מטמאין) (*Nidda*, VII, 4); בית השווקים "market-places" (*Makširin*, VI, 2).

So also with regard to the other rules and idioms peculiar to the constr. st., MH. agrees almost in every respect with BH. There is, therefore, no need to recapitulate them here. The following points, however, may be noted:—

The construct before a relative clause is not found in MH. except in the case of a number of nouns, the construct form of which has become stereotyped in certain connexions: hence we get the following combinations: — אף על פי ש "although"; — בזמן ש "when"; — כרי ש "in order that"; — בלפי ש "in respect to"; — מפני ש "because"; — משום ש "because"; על שם ש "because" and על מנת ש "on condition that."

So the noun חוקה "state, assumption," which is very common in the constr. st. before a noun (e. g. *Ketub.*, I, 6, 7; *Nazir*, IX, 2;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Deut. xxiii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Contrast *Targ. j.*, Num. xv. 34; xxvii. 5 דיני כפינה but דיני נפשות.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hillel, p. 47; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 141.

<sup>4</sup> Construct of אֲשֶׁר. The ך is redundant, cf. above. p. 51 f.

*B. Bathra*, III, 1 f., &c., &c.), is also found in the construct before a relative clause: בחזקת שהוא קיים "on the assumption that he is alive" (*Gittin*, III, 3, 7, 8; cf. III, 4); בחזקת שנתן, בחזקת שלא נתן "on the assumption that he has given, . . . that he has not given" (*B. Bathra*, I, 4); בחזקת שלא נפרה (*Bekor.*, VIII, 6). So in *Tamid*, III, 3, after five cases of the construct לישבת before nouns, we get by analogy שהיו עושין, &c.

Two instances only have been found by the writer of a construct before a preposition, viz.: בהלכתי לבית המדרש<sup>1</sup> (*Aboth*, V, 14), and לעולי לברמי מלכים (*Mekilta*, fol. 61 b). This is the more unnecessary since the MH. construct may regularly have the force of a preposition; cf. מהלכי שתים "bipeds" (= על, *Bikk.*, II, 3; *Sifra*, fol. 48 d); פכולי עדות "disqualified for evidence" (= ל-; cf. the phrase לעדות עדות, *Ketub.*, II, 1); יוצאי מצרים (*Nedar.*, III, 2); יורדי הים (III, 6).

(b) *Circumlocation of the Genitive*. The restrictions which the constr. st. by its peculiar nature, its inflexibility and awkwardness imposes upon the language must have been felt keenly by the Semitic dialects. Add to this the fact that in the many nouns which are invariable (and in dialects with a poorly developed vowel-system almost all nouns are invariable), the constr. st. lost even its outward semblance of an inflexional distinction, leaving thus the relation existing between the nouns ambiguous and uncertain, and it will be easy to understand the necessity felt by the Semitic dialects of devising some new means for expressing the genitive relation<sup>3</sup>. Being

<sup>1</sup> So N. and other edd.; C., however, has בהלכתי ביהמ"ד. Cf. Ges.-K., § 130 a f.; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 206.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ps. cvii. 23. In BH. this construction is confined to the poetical style, Ges.-K., § 116 h.

<sup>3</sup> Kautzsch (*Bib. Aram.*, § 81, footnote) ascribes the origin of the circumlocation of the genitive to the desire of making the *regens* definite. But it is evident that this desire was only one of the many causes at work, since circumlocation is very common in languages like Assyrian and Ethiopic, which do not possess the article or its equivalent. Further, we have cases in Hebrew where circumlocation was chosen for the special purpose of leaving the nouns *indefinite*, e.g. 1 Sam. xvi. 18 בן ישי, 1 Kings ii. 39 גבורים ישימני. Cf. Ges.-K., § 129 c.

no longer capable of producing any internal or inflexional change in the nouns concerned, they had to fall back upon a periphrasis of the genitive. This they did by inserting a particle between the two nouns. In the selection of this particle the Semitic languages divide themselves into two groups. Those languages in which the period of decay set in early in their history, when their mode of thought was still of a primitive nature, viz. the Assyrian, the Aramaic dialects, and the Ethiopic, selected for this periphrasis the *demonstrative particle*, which had already come into use as a connecting link in the form of a relative: Assyrian *ša*, Aramaic *š*, *š*, and finally *š*, *-š*, Ethiopic **H** (י) <sup>1</sup>. Thus in *ביתא די מלכא* (*domus iste rex*) the particle *די* merely points out that there is a connexion between the two nouns without attempting in the least to indicate explicitly what that connexion is. Convention alone determined that the connexion should be understood as that of the genitive relation, just as it was convention alone that determined the relation of a clause introduced by the same particle to the principle clause of the sentence <sup>2</sup>. The particle thus used as a genitive did, therefore, as much as the older constr. st. For the latter did no more, at least in historical times, than merely indicate by its juxtaposition with the *rectum* and its hurried pronunciation, often producing a vocalic change, that some kind of connexion existed between the two nouns, which connexion was commonly understood to be that of the genitive.

Those Semitic languages, however, which had been endowed with greater vitality, and did not feel the need for a substitute for the constr. st. till a comparatively late period in their development, viz. Arabic, Hebrew, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup>, § 84 a; Dillmann, *Eth. Gr.*<sup>2</sup>, §§ 145, 6, 186. **A** (י) in simple circumlocution is rare in Ethiopic, and only when the relation may also be conceived as that of the dative (Dillmann, § 145, 6). Amharic expresses the genitive exclusively by circumlocution with **ḥ** (י) a weakened form of **H** (ibid., p. 289, footnote).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ges.-K., § 138 a.

Phoenician, could not when that need arose be satisfied with the primitive method adopted by the first group. It was found necessary to indicate quite clearly the relation subsisting between the noun and its genitive. Classical Arabic, with its highly developed inflexional system in which, moreover, annexion had been fortified by a real genitive termination attached to the *rectum*, seems to have never experienced any real need for a substitute to this construction. Only occasionally do we find the genitive of material expressed by circumlocation with <sup>1</sup>مِنْ. But Modern Arabic, in consequence of the loss or confusion of the old case-endings, has felt itself compelled to devise some periphrasis of the genitive. In the Egyptian Arabic annexion is being supplanted by a circumlocation which is expressed by placing the noun *betā* ("property, possession") between the *regens* and *rectum*, where it signifies "peculiar to," "belonging to." It stands in apposition to the *regens* and in constr. st. to the *rectum*, the latter being thus governed by it and subordinated to it as its genitive<sup>2</sup>.

In Hebrew circumlocation of the genitive is expressed by the preposition ל "belonging to," and the construction is exactly the same as in Modern Arabic. Thus in מִיָּדָיו לְרוּחַת לֵבָר or לְרוּחַת לֵבָר לְרוּחַת the ל stands in apposition to מִיָּדָיו and רוּחַת, while רוּחַת and לֵבָר are governed by and subordinated to the preposition as its genitive<sup>3</sup>. This primitive construction, however, of simple apposition between the *regens* and the preposition had to give way in this case, as also in other cases, to a smoother and more logical construction<sup>4</sup>, in which the connexion between the *regens* and the preposition was specified by the originally demonstrative link אֵלֶּה, so that the determining words

<sup>1</sup> Wright, *Arab. Gr.*<sup>3</sup>, II. § 48 (9). The constructions with ج enumerated *ibid.*, § 53 (b) are real datives.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Spitta, §§ 77 c, 119 a ff., 120 c, also Gesenius, *Lehrgeb.*, p. 672 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Wright, *op. cit.*, I, § 355, and Ges.-K., § 101.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Tenses*<sup>3</sup>, p. 246.

were practically placed in a relative clause, e.g. הפלגים  
בנף המעיל אשר לשאול, אשר לאברהם.

The colloquial form of —לֹאֵל was —לֹאֵל<sup>1</sup>, a form which found its way also into the literature<sup>2</sup>. From —לֹאֵל to the formation of an independent particle לֹאֵל is but an easy and natural step, and thus arose the genitive particle לֹאֵל which in MH. is the only means for expressing circumlocation of the genitive, but which must have existed in popular speech long before it was reluctantly admitted into the literary dialect of BH.

So in Phoenician the periphrasis of the genitive is effected by prefixing ל to the *rectum*, and then by —לֹאֵל (= —לֹאֵל) and finally by לֹאֵל. Only in very late times, under the overpowering influence of Aramaic, against which it was apparently more powerless than MH., Phoenician often uses for the genitive simply —לֹאֵל<sup>3</sup>.

The foregoing remarks prove conclusively that the MH. circumlocation of the genitive with לֹאֵל is an original Hebrew construction, and not an adaptation of the Aramaic circumlocation with לֹאֵל. For the two particles differ most essentially and radically. לֹאֵל indicates some vague connexion between the two nouns which it joins together, while לֹאֵל expresses explicitly and with precision the relation existing between them. לֹאֵל is not the equivalent, much less the translation of לֹאֵל. It says a great deal more than לֹאֵל and has had an entirely different history and development. Neither has לֹאֵל any connexion with the Aramaic hypotheticalical לֹאֵל. לֹאֵל is never used without either the prefix —לֹאֵל or the pronominal suffixes, while לֹאֵל is extensively used

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 13 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cant. iii. 7; cf. 2 Kings vi. 11, Cant. viii. 12, and Jonah i. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Schröder, *Phoen. Sp.*, §§ 68, 69 and 82, 83. Instances in BH. of the use of לֹאֵל alone to express the circumlocation of the genitive seem to occur in 1 Sam. xiii. 8, 1 Kings xi. 25, 2 Kings xxv. 10 (cf. Jer. lii. 14), and 2 Ch. xxxiv. 22. But most probably the text in all these passages is at fault. Cf. Ewald, *Lehrbuch*, p. 746 note, the Oxford Lexicon, p. 83, and König, *Syntax*, § 283.

when standing alone. It would, perhaps, be more correct to say that דיל was influenced by של. רילי, &c., is only used exclusively in Syriac. In the non-Jewish Palestinian dialects of Aramaic די + ירי (= די + ירי) only is found<sup>1</sup>. In the Targumim and in the Aramaic of the Talmud both רילי and ירי are found, but the latter more frequently. Only Onkelos, who is noted for his Hebraizing tendencies uses רילי exclusively, most probably because the author, or authors, of this Targum spoke MH. Moreover, the Targumim actually use של = דל to express the circumlocution of the genitive where the Hebrew text has — אשר ל, instead of simple די, —ד, e.g. Gen. xxv. 6 דלאברהם, xxix. 9 (די לעברך. *Onk.*; *j.*); Exod. xxix. 26 דלאבנה (*j.*, *Onk.*; (די לאהרן), xxvi. 29 both דלאהרן; Lev. ix. 15, xvi. 15 דלעמא, &c. &c.

Circumlocution with simple ל, though very common in BH.<sup>2</sup>, is extremely rare in MH., and generally only when the ל may also be construed as ל of the dative or of reference<sup>3</sup>. The following is a fairly exhaustive list of these constructions in the Mišna:—

*Pea*, II, 6 הלכה למישה מסיני (perhaps se.: 'להונה למ').

*Pesah.*, I, 1 אור ל"ד "the eve<sup>4</sup> of the fourteenth"; so *Kerith.* אור פ"א; but the parallel passage in *Eduy.* has אור לפ"א.

*R. Hašana*, I, 1 ראש השנה למלכים, &c.; *B. Meš.*, V, 1 תחלה זב, &c.; *Sanh.*, VIII, 5 בינום לרשעים, &c.; *Aboth*, IV, 2 לקוצרים, &c.; *Menah.*, VI, 3, X, 6, &c. קודם לעשיתן; but the ל may be here a sign of the accusative; cf. *Kerith.*, VI, 8 קודם אֶת האב.

*Menah.*, VIII, 1, 3, 6 אלפא לסולת, &c. "αλφα (=the first, best of) fine flour"; *Temura*, I, 1 מתנה לכהן (perh. se. 'נתונה לב', but cf. the common phrase מתנות בהונה); *Kelim*, XVII, 11 ידות מ"ב לקב "two parts of a loaf, which loaf is a third of a *Kab*<sup>5</sup>"; *Zabim*, I, 2 ביום השלישי לספירת זובו.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dalman, p. 118, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. König, *Syntax*, § 280 f.

<sup>3</sup> As in Ethiopic, cf. above, p. 76, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Aram. אורא.

<sup>5</sup> For the peculiar use of כ cf. *B. Meš.*, VIII, 9; *Menah.*, IX, 3; *Pava*, I, 1. So in Syriac, Matt. xx. 2: מן סחך ! מל in the Pesitta.

*Mekilta*, fol. 57 a למקום, חבר למקום (contrast *Sifra*, fol. 20 a (רע של אלה); *ibid.*, fol. 75 e שביעית לשנים ולא שביעית למכירה).

*Sifrê*, fol. 3 a קדש לבעלים; and perhaps a few more cases in the *Midrashim*; elsewhere של is used, but never — ל.<sup>1</sup>

Circumlocution in MH., as stated above (p. 70), is not used with the indiscrimination and arbitrariness which characterize Jewish Aramaic, Vulgar Arabic, Ethiopic, and Assyrian. It is possible, just as in BH., to tabulate the usages of circumlocution in the *Mišna* and reduce them to certain rules. But it must be admitted that in later Rabbinic style, especially in the *Haggada* which is couched in a popular and Aramaizing language, the use of the circumlocution, especially with the anticipation of the genitive by a pronominal suffix, approaches more and more the looseness and arbitrariness of other dialects.<sup>2</sup>

The following are the principal cases where simple circumlocution is used<sup>3</sup>:—

(1) To express the *genitive of material*, in which case של has the force of “belonging to the *genus* of.” This construction is not found in BH.<sup>4</sup>, but is regular in the Targum (e. g. Gen. xxiv. 21, 53; Exod. ii. 2, 4 (but contrast vers. 21, 22), &c., also Dan. v. 7)<sup>5</sup>. Arabic, too, often expresses this genitive by circumlocution with مِّنْ (cf. above, p. 77).

Examples: *Yoma*, III, 4 סדרן של בון; *Sukka*, IV, 10 חבית ירק של תרומה. So also sometimes to express a quality: ירק של תרומה (*Eduy.*, II, 2, 4 and often with תרומה as genitive. There are, however, some exceptions. Thus the frequent noun כלי always takes its material in the constr. st.; so also בוכי “spoons” (*Pesah.*,

<sup>1</sup> The citation by Siegfried and Strack (§ 72 b) of the phrase דמיו ליהוה as an example of the genitive with ל rests upon an oversight. The phrase does not mean “die Erkenntniss Gottes” (sic!) but “his mind, or intention, directed towards Heaven.” So דמיו ליהוה, *Sanh.*, fol. 61 b (bottom).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. König, *Syntax*, § 280 ff.

<sup>3</sup> We must refrain, owing to want of space, from giving exhaustive lists of references.

<sup>4</sup> But cf. Lev. xiii. 48; Ezra i. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Kautzsch, *Gr. d. Bib.-Aram.*, § 81 c.

V, 5); כן "base" (*Yoma*, V, 2); מחתת הכסף (*Tamid*, I, 4, V, 5. These sections, however, belong to the older strata in the Mišna).

(2) When there are more than one *regens* dependent upon one *rectum*; *Ma'aseroth*, I, 7 טבל של טבל וענבים; cf. *T'rum.*, XI, 4; *R. Hašana*, IV, 6; *B. Meš.*, X, 1 f., &c. Cf. in BH. Gen. xl. 5; Exod. xiv. 28; 2 Kings xi. 10.

(3) When the *regens* consists of a construct combination in which the second member is inseparable from the first. *Demai*, IV, 1 (&c.) דמאי של דמאי; IV, 3, 4 דמאי של דמאי; *Šebi'ith*, I, 2, &c., &c.

Conversely when the *rectum* is made up of such a compound expression: *Šabb.*, XX, 5 מכבש של בעלי-בתים; *B. Kam.*, I, 2 נכסים של בני-בית, &c., &c. Or when both *regens* and *rectum* consist of compound expressions: *'Erub.*, VIII, 4 תפיסת-יד של כל-יירות-הכלים של יוסה-כפורים; *Yoma*, III, 2 בעל-הבית; &c.

There are, of course, numerous exceptions to this rule, e.g. שמחת בית-השואבה, *Sukka*, V, 1; cf. V, 3, &c., &c.

Cf. in BH. Gen. xxv. 6 (לבני-הפלגשים אשר לאברהם); Num. xvi. 22, xxxi. 48; Judges vi. 25, xviii. 28. (See for further examples König, *Syntax*, §§ 281 l-m, 282 e, f, and cf. also Dillmann, op. cit., § 186.)

(4) When an adjective intervenes between *regens* and *rectum*: *Yoma*, V, 6 מוכח החיצון של מַעֲרָבִי; *Sukka*, II, 6 לילי יום טוב; יסוד מַעֲרָבִי של מוכח החיצון; *Arakin*, IX, 6 שני בתים; *Kilaim*, IV, 5 שורה; שורות של עשר עשר כדי יין "ten rows of ten wine-jars each"; ג' חצרות של שני<sup>1</sup> שני בתים; *Nedar.*, VIII, 7 עבר של שני שותפין; *Pesah.*, VIII, 1 של חמשה גפנים; כור אחד של חטים, &c., &c. Cf. in BH. 1 Sam. xxii. 20 (בן אחד); Ezek. xl. 40 b; so in Assyrian (Delitzsch, § 166, 2) and Ethiopic (Dillmann, § 186).

(5) Circumlocution is generally used with nouns borrowed from other languages, including Aramaic, since the language was no longer able to assimilate them so thoroughly as to inflect them like native words: *Kidduš.*, IV, 5 איסטרטיא של מלך "the King's *στρατιά*"; *Ab. Z.*, II, 1 פונדקאות של עכו"ם "the *πυρδοκαῖα* of the heathen"; IV, 6 בימוסאות של מלכים<sup>2</sup>, &c. &c.

<sup>1</sup> The numeral repeated in a distributive sense. Note the *suspended construct*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jastrow, s. v.

(6) Generally circumlocution is used when for one reason or another the *regens* or *rectum* is to be emphasized, as when a noun is used in a secondary or derived sense<sup>1</sup>, e.g. *Kelim*, XIII, 1 וּגְזֵי שֵׁל סָפְרִים “shears of barbers” (וּגְזֵי סָפְרִים may mean “a pair of barbers”); XIII, 2 הֶשֶׁן שֶׁל מַעֲדָר “the tooth of a mattock,” &c., or in enumerating many cases which either agree or differ from one another: *Kelim*, XIII, 6 טַבַּעַת שֶׁל מַתְכַּת . . . טַבַּעַת (שֶׁל אֶלְמוֹנִי); XIII, 8 (מַסְרֵק שֶׁל פֶּשֶׁתָּן . . . וְשֶׁל צִמְרֵי); XIV, 8; XV, 2; XXIII, 2, 4; XXIX, 4-6, &c., &c.

Cf. in BH. 2 Sam. iii. 2-3 (לְאַבְיֵיגַל, לְאַחִינֵעֹם).

(c) *Circumlocution with Anticipation*. The circumlocutory genitive is often anticipated in MH., as in Aramaic, by a possessive suffix attached to the *regens*, e.g. שְׁלוּחֹו שֶׁל אִדָּם “a man’s messenger.” The construction is only found as a rule in cases of true (possessive) genitives<sup>2</sup>, but in the following passages it is used also with the objective genitive of *nomina actionis*:

*Šebi'ith*, II, 3 כִּךְ שֶׁל חֲמִשִּׁית שֶׁל חֲמִשִּׁית “just like the thinning and trimming of the fifth so of the sixth.”

*Yoma*, VII, 2 אֵלוֹ שֶׁל הַפִּיטוֹן וְנִתְחַן “the flaying and cutting up of these.”

*Yebam.*, XI, 7 זֶה וְזֶה שֶׁל זֶה וְזֶה “for the striking and cursing this one and that one.”

The construction is only employed when the *regens* is a flexible noun, which is elsewhere found in the constr. st., as otherwise it could not take the suffix. Generally the construction has an emphatic force, laying a certain stress on the *regens*, the *rectum*, or on both, or on the connecting particle. Frequently, however, it is used without any apparent emphasis in familiar and colloquial language, especially in the Haggadic style, which should be attributed to Aramaic influence. (Cf. above, p. 80.)

The genitive is almost always determinate in one of the following ways: by a suffix (e.g. הַבּוֹאֵר שֶׁל חֲבֵרוֹ, *Kila.*, VII,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> So regularly in Syriac, Nöldeke, § 205, C.

4); by being a proper noun (e.g. *Abboth*, I, 12 הלמדיו של (אהרן); or, very frequently, a demonstrative (cf. the examples cited above from *Yoma*, VII, 2; *Yebam.*, XI, 7): by having been mentioned before; by being well known generally or only in connexion with the subject treated in the context. But it *never* takes the article except in such stereotyped phrases as בעל הבית, הקרוט ברוך הוא and עם הארץ, which are never found without the article. Very instructive are the following passages, in which the genitive is mentioned before with the article, but the article is dropped as soon as the noun stands in this construction: *Šabb.*, I, 1 (עץ); *Yebam.*, VII, 3 (עובר); *Nedar.*, VII, 5 (עיר); *Sota*, VIII, 8 (עם); *B. Bathra*, IV, 4 (הצר); *Šebu'oth*, I, 7 (בר); *Me'ash.*, XI, 5 (שלהן); *Ohol.*, II, 1 (מת); *Neg.*, XIV, 1 (מצורע). Evidently the genitive was regarded as having been determined by the suffix of the *regens*, and therefore could as little take the article as if the suffix had been attached to itself. Hence in Ethiopic, which has no article, this construction is used regularly and most extensively for the purpose of rendering a noun definite (cf. Dillmann, § 172 c). In Aramaic, however, the genitive is always in the *emphatic* state; cf. *Dan.* ii. 20, 44, iii. 26, and so in the Targumim.

The idiom of anticipation is not confined to the genitive. It occurs also in other cases when a noun is introduced by a preposition.

Thus with על, e.g. אמרו עליו על רחב"ד (*Berak.*, V, 5).

With לו, e.g. אמרו לו לר"נ: ל (*Erub.*, IV, 2; *Abboth*, II, 3, 8; *Middoth*, IV, 2 להער<sup>1</sup>). So usually with רי לבא: רי "sufficient for the law derived by the conclusion *ad majus* to be like the law from which it is derived" (*B. Kam.*, II, 5; *Nidda*, IV, 6); רים לישראל "it is enough for Israel" (*Mekilta*, fol. 3 a); רי לעבר להיות כרבו "sufficient for the slave to be like his master" (*Sifra*, fol. 108 b and often).

<sup>1</sup> In *Nedar.*, III, 11, N. and C. omit לו before משה. משה דין לעכברים (*B. Meš.*, III, 7) is a semi-Aramaic phrase.

With ב: only in the phrase בּוּ בַיּוֹם “on the same day”<sup>1</sup> (*Šabb.*, I, 4, &c.). With לֹא כֹל הַיָּמִינוּ מִן הָרִאשׁוֹן: מִן “everything does not depend on him, even on the first”<sup>2</sup> (*Gittin*, VIII, 8; cf. *B. Kam.*, X, 2).

Anticipation of the subject by הוּא is found in the following passages in the Mišna: *Bikk.*, III, 6 (עוֹרִיחוֹ הַסֵּל); *Pesuh.*, IX, 10 (שָׁלָנוּ הוּא הַפֶּסַח, &c.); *Yebam.*, XVI, 1 (מַעֲבֹרֶת הִיא); *Aboth*, II, 14, 16; *Pera.*, X, 5, XII, 5<sup>3</sup>.

This idiom of anticipation is not, however, peculiar to MH. and to Aramaic.

There are very many examples of it in BH. Thus: *anticipation of the subject* by הוּא, as in אַחַת הִיא יִנְתִּי (Cant. vi. 8, &c.). See Driver's *Tenses*, § 201, for a full treatment of this particular construction.

*Anticipation of the genitive* occurs in BH. in the following passages:—

(1) Before the construct state: Jer. lii. 20 (לְנַחֲשֵׁתָם כָּל הַכְּלִים). In the parallel passage, 2 Kings xxv. 16, the suffix is indeed omitted, but it is attested here by the Ancient Versions, which, however, omit the following genitive); Ezek. x. 2 (לְאַרְבַּעַתָּם מִחֻקְצֵנוֹת); xlvi. 22 (בְּבָאֵם הַכַּהֲנִים); xlii. 14 (בְּבֹאֵי הָאִישׁ); (but the genitive, which is diacritically pointed by the Massora, should probably be omitted as in the Versions); Ps. xlix. 14 (דֶּרֶךְם כֶּסֶל לָמוּ); Prov. xiii. 4 (נַפְשׁוֹ עֵצַל); Job xxiii. 9 (בְּחֵלּוֹ נָרוּ); Ezra ii. 62 || Neh. vii. 64 (כִּתְבָּם הַמַּתִּיחִים); Ezra iii. 12 (לְחֹלְדוֹתָם רֹאשִׁי); 1 Chron. vii. 9 (בִּיסֻרוֹ זֶה הַבַּיִת); (?) (לְחֹלְדוֹתָם רֹאשִׁי).

In Isa. xvii. 6 the ה should probably be attached to the following genitive: הַפּוֹרִיָּה; so in Prov. xiv. 13 read: וְאַחֲרֵית הַשְׂמָחָה.

(2) Before a genitive introduced by ל; Num. i. 21-43 (כַּתְּעֹבְתֵיהֶם לִבְנֵעִי); Ezra ix. 1 (פְּקָרֵיהֶם לַמִּטָּה); 2 Chron. xxxi. 18 (לְכָל קָהָל); cf. also 1 Chron. iv. 33 (וְהַתִּיחֵשֶׁם לָהֶם); vii. 4 (לְחֹלְדוֹתָם לְבֵית).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dan. iii. 6-8, 15; v. 11; Ezra v. 3 (בַּהּ וּבַיּוֹם); see Kautzsch, *op. cit.*, § 88.

<sup>2</sup> C. has wrongly הִינֵנִי. N. is corrupt.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the quotation above, p. 47.

*Anticipation of the accusative:* Exod. ii. 6 .. ותראהו את .. ; Deut. iii. 14 .. את .. ויקרא אתם (cf. Driver, ad loc.); 1 Kings xix. 21 בשלם הבשר ; xxi. 13 את נבות ; 2 Kings xvi. 15 את .. ויצהו (Kethib); Jer. xix. 14 מאבילם את העם ; Ps. lxiii. 12 ; 1 Chron. v. 26<sup>1</sup> ויגלם לראובן ; xxiii. 6 להגדוד ; 2 Chron. xxv. 5 לבית .. ויעמידם , v. 10 להגדוד .. ויברילים ..

The above lists, supplemented by the references given in Driver's *Tenses*, § 201, containing passages drawn from all parts of BH., prose and poetry, early and late, will have made it abundantly clear that the anticipation of a following noun by a preceding pronoun or pronominal suffix is a genuine Hebrew idiom and not an Aramaism. The idiom is, moreover, extremely common in Assyrian before a genitive introduced by *ša*. The genitive so introduced may even precede the *regens* with the attached suffix (Delitzsch, § 166, 3). It is also widely used in Ethiopic whenever the noun is to be conceived as determinate both in the genitive and in the accusative, the particle introducing the noun being always א (l) even with the genitive, and not H (i) as in simple circumlocution (cf. Dillmann, § 172 c). It follows, therefore, that the anticipatory constructions in MH. are of native origin and not borrowed from the Aramaic, though the latter may have exercised some influence upon their usage.

It may be remarked that the idiom appears to be in its origin a colloquialism, one might almost say, a vulgarism, implying a lack of precision in thought and in expression. The speaker at first deems it sufficient to refer to the noun by means of a pronoun or more commonly a pronominal suffix, but recollecting that the hearer may be in doubt to whom the suffix refers, he adds as an afterthought a clause containing the real name of the person or thing which he has in his mind. The noun being thus expressed twice became emphatic; gradually the idiom began to be used more frequently, and then regularly whenever any

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Driver, *LOT*, p. 538, No. 39.

stress was to be laid upon a noun, and, in the course of time, even where no emphasis was intended. Being thus essentially a popular construction, it may be assumed to have been even more common in the popular dialect of Biblical times<sup>1</sup> than in the literary language, and from the old colloquial Hebrew it descended into MH.

In about forty passages in the Mišna and frequently in the Midrašim circumlocution by שְׁלִי with the appropriate suffix is found in the place of the possessive suffix attached immediately to the noun itself. This construction is used (a) on grounds of grammar, where, namely, the noun cannot take the suffix through being indeclinable or consisting of a compound expression, and (b) on grounds of style, where it is desirable to leave the noun unchanged for the sake of lucidity or emphasis.

(a) On grounds of grammar :

1. Compound expressions which form standing phrases and are thus inseparable: *Ma'as. Šeni*, III, 6 (מַעֲשֵׂר שְׁנֵי שְׁלֵהֶם); *Yoma*, VIII, 6; *Hullin*, II, 7 (חֲצֵר-כֶּבֶד שְׁלִי); *Megilla*, IV, 8; *B. Ḳam.*, VIII, 1; *B. Meš.*, VII, 2; *‘Eduy.*, III, 5; *Kerith.*, I, 2 (לֹא "שְׁלֵהֶן" הוֹדַע; cf. Lev. iv. 28); *Mekilta*, fol. 28 a, b, 56 a; *Sifra*, fol. 50 a (סִימְיִטְהָרָה שְׁלִי).

2. A composite subject: *Šabb.*, VI, 8 (כִּסֵּא וּסְמוּכוֹת שְׁלִי) "his—the lame man's—seat and supports"; *‘Aboda Z.*, II, 6 (הַפֶּתַח וְהַשֵּׁמֶן שְׁלֵהֶם).

3. Indeclinable: *Pesaḥ.*, VIII, 5 (בִּשְׁמִי שְׁלִי); *Beša.*, II, 8; *‘Eduy.*, III, 12 (בְּרַחִים שְׁלֵהֶם); especially foreign words: *Kelim*, XIII, 7 (הַאֲוִנְקָלִי שְׁלֵהָ = ἀγκύλη); XVI, 7 (קַמְרִין שְׁלֵהָ "arched lid"—καμάρα<sup>2</sup>); XVIII, 2 (מוֹכְנֵי שְׁלֵהָ = μηχανή); *Uḳṣin*, I, 2 (הַפִּיטְמוֹ שְׁלֵהָ); *Mekilta*, fol. 26 b, 28 b, 32 a, 42 a (פִּלְטְרִין שְׁלִי = παλάτιον<sup>3</sup>); 44 a (אִיקוֹנִין שְׁלִי).

<sup>1</sup> Note its occurrence in the N. Palestinian documents 1 Kings xix. 21 and xxi. 13; cf. Burney's *Notes on Kings*, p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., however, Jastrow, s. v.

<sup>3</sup> So Levy and Kohut. Jastrow derives it from *πραιτώριον*, with the change of *p* into *ḥ*.

(b) On grounds of style :

1. With nouns used in a secondary, derived, or figurative sense: *Šeb'ith*, II, 10 התמרות שלהם (of the palm-like flower of the gourd; cf. Bertinoro, ad loc.); *Šabb.*, I, 10 התחתון שלה "its lower part" (תחתונה might have been taken in a different sense); VI, 8 קב שלו "his artificial foot" (not *kab* "a measure"); so *Kelim*, XI, 7; *Yebam.*, VIII, 4 הבצים שלו (*testes*, so *Kelim*, XIX, 8); *Ab. Z.*, II, 3 הקרע שלו "its opening"; *Hullin*, III, 2; *Sifra*, fol. 48 c החוט שלה (viz. of the שדרה "the spinal cord"); האם שלה (the *matrix*, so *Bekor.*, IV, 4); *Kelim*, XII, 4 עגלה שלה ("the stand of a chest"); XVI, 3 לרחב שלהם (of the sides of a basket); *Ohol.*, XI, 8 והפרח שלה ("the calyx" of a candlestick); *Ukšim*, I, 2 הלבויש שלה ("the vesture" of an ear of corn); so perhaps הסיב שלו (cf. Maimonides, ad loc.); *Sifra*, fol. 75 a האמה שלו (*membrum*).

2. Emphatic: *Terum.*, X, 12 אפילו החלמון שלה "even its yoke"; *Kelim*, VII, 2 הצררן שלו, and below הרחב שלו (viz. of רכון "stand," mentioned at the beginning of the section); XIII, 6 חותם שלה and חפין שלה (in antithetical cases): so perhaps *Meḳilta*, fol. 28 b; *Sifra*, fol. 19 c (שהנשיא שלי).

Cf. the following similar constructions in BH.: Gen. xxiii a לו מערת המכפלה אשר לו, xli. 43; Exod. xxxviii. 30; Lev. ix. 8 עגל החטאת אשר לו (emphatic; cf. v. 15); xvi. 6, 11; Judges iii. 20 (עלית המקרה אשר לו); 1 Sam. xvii. 40; 1 Kings xv. 20 (שרי); so || 2 Chron. xvi. 4; 1 Kings xxii. 31 || 2 Chron. xviii. 30; 2 Kings xvi. 13. Further, 1 Sam. xx. 40 (הנער אשר לו), xxv. 7; 2 Sam. xiv. 31; 1 Kings i. 33, iv. 2; Ruth ii. 21 (הנערים); Lam. i. 10 (בקהל לך); Ezek. xliii. 1 (והחיק לה) <sup>1</sup>.

So also in late Phoenician (Punic): אמא שלי, הולך שלי, and בני שלי; cf. Schröder, § 69; Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, p. 120.

Vulgar Arabic also uses *beti'* for the possessive suffix, but without apparent cause; cf. Spitta, l.c.

In the Assuan Papyri are found, apparently without any emphasis at all, such instances as ברלי = ברא לי = ברתי = ברהלי = ברתי; ביתך = ביתא זילך; cf. Cowley's *Introd.*, pp. 9, 17

<sup>1</sup> Cf. König, *Syntax*, § 231 O, β. Oxford Lexicon, s.v. 528

Enough has now been said in the foregoing pages to enable us to answer with a certain degree of confidence the questions with which we set out at the beginning of this inquiry. Our survey of some of the chief features of MH. grammar has revealed the fact that as far as strict grammar is concerned, MH. is *absolutely independent* of Aramaic; that it is identical in the main with BH., and where it differs from the latter the genesis of the differences can generally be traced back to an older stage of the language, out of which the new forms have developed in a *natural* and *methodical* manner. We have met with a considerable number of forms and constructions which are quite unknown in Aramaic. Some of these are found in BH. in isolated cases, and in others it is possible at least to trace their connexion with BH. prototypes; but, what is most important, nearly all of them bear the stamp of *colloquial usage* and of *popular development*, while, on the other hand, not a single trace has been discovered of that artificiality with which the MH. idiom has been commonly credited. In fact, the colloquial and popular character of MH. grammar is so strongly pronounced that it helps us in many cases to distinguish in BH. colloquial or dialectal forms and phrases from the literary and polite ones, a fact which, if elaborated with proper care and discrimination, may have an important bearing upon many problems in Biblical criticism.

Many grammatical phenomena, especially in the realm of syntax, which had been hitherto regarded as peculiar to Aramaic, and the occurrence of which in MH. and also in BH. had been attributed to Aramaic influence, have been shown to be common to all or several of the Semitic dialects in a later phase of their existence, and therefore as indigenous in Hebrew as in any of its sister languages.

No doubt Aramaic did exercise a profound and far-reaching influence upon MH., but this influence was confined to the vocabulary, and hardly extended to the grammar at all except indirectly, in so far as the altered

vocabulary and phraseology tended also to modify in some measure the grammatical construction of the language.

The answer, therefore, which grammar has to offer to the question whether MH. was a natural, living, and popular dialect developed gradually and systematically out of old Hebrew, or merely an artificial and mechanical scholastic jargon which masqueraded as a kind of Hebrew but was really a bad Aramaic in disguise, is decidedly and unequivocally in favour of the former alternative, and this answer must be taken to settle the question once and for all. The presence of so many Aramaic words and phrases in MH. can as little affect its genuineness as, for example, the preponderance of the Latin element in the English dictionary can affect the genuine Teutonic character of the English language, or, let it be said, as little as the presence in Aramaic itself of so many Hebrew and other foreign words and phrases can affect the genuine and originally Aramean character of the language of Syria and Mesopotamia. Nay, on a closer examination the MH. vocabulary itself will be found to support strongly the verdict of the grammar. Without entering for the present upon this very desirable examination, it may be stated here that the MH. vocabulary consists of two main divisions, each of which has to be subdivided again into three smaller groups, viz. :—

#### I. Words common to MH. and BH.

1. Words used in MH. in the same connotation and in the same form as in BH.

2. Words used in MH. in the same connotation but in slightly altered form, often approaching or similar to Aramaic usage.

3. Words used in MH. in a different connotation, often agreeing with Aramaic usage.

#### II. Words found in MH. but not in BH.

1. Words peculiar to MH., not found in Aramaic, or only as MH. loan-words, but often found in other Semitic languages.

2. Words common to MH. and to Aramaic, either as originally common Semitic or North Semitic words, or as loan-words in both dialects from foreign languages, notably Assyrian, Iranian, and the classical languages, or as mutual loan-words in MH. and Aramaic.

3. Words borrowed by MH. from Aramaic.

It will be seen that Aramaic influence comes in only in group II. 3 and, to some extent, in groups I. 2, 3, while group I. 1, and especially group II. 1, a considerable proportion of which consists of words connected with the arts and crafts and other occupations of everyday life, can only be reasonably accounted for by the assumption that Hebrew continued to be a living medium of speech up to, and including, the MH. period. Group II. 2 includes a large number of words in which priority may be claimed by either dialect, but in the case of words connected with the religious and ethical aspects of life the presumption will generally have to be in favour of MH. It cannot be repeated too often that the vocabulary of the Old Testament contains but a part, and possibly only a small part, of the stock of words possessed by the Hebrew language. It is, therefore, unreasonable to assign to Aramaic all those words in MH. which are not found in BH.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact the much-talked-of Aramaic influence upon post-exilic BH. was comparatively insignificant even in the sphere of vocabulary<sup>2</sup>, and much more insignificant in the sphere of grammar. Many of the so-called grammatical Aramaisms in the Old Testament are nothing but colloquial or dialectal, but none the less genuine Hebraic, forms which generally turn up again as the normal types in MH., as we have often had occasion to point out in the preceding pages. For both in respect of grammar as well as in respect of

<sup>1</sup> As is done by S. Mannes in his dissertation *Über d. Einfluss d. Aram. auf den Wortschatz d. Mišnah* (Berlin, 1897). In spite of all his partiality for Aramaic, he has only succeeded in collecting 176 instances of Aramaic words under the letters ס—צ.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kautzsch, *Aramaismen im AT.*, p. 102 f.

vocabulary, the Hebrew Scriptures offer us but a fragmentary and incomplete presentation of what the living language actually was at various periods of its existence, a presentation, however, which can often be supplemented and completed by MII.

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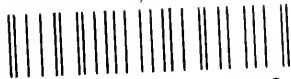
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